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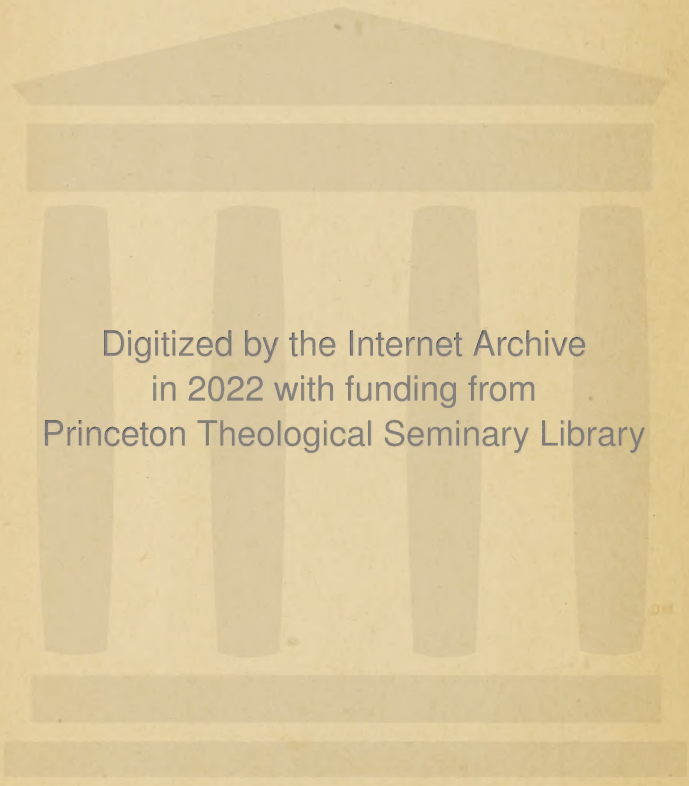

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THE MIND AND CHARACTER OF HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND

BY THE

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Author of 'Character and Religion'
'The Corner Stone of Education,' etc.

'But O the heavy change now thou art gone.'
MILTON.

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PREFACE

SOME of the patent defects of the appreciation attempted in this volume may find some excuse in the purpose for which it was undertaken. It aims not at satisfying but at provoking curiosity in a very remarkable and greatly beloved man: in particular because his nobility of character and vigour of mind have not seldom been misinterpreted and are in some danger of oblivion. Both require more attentive study than many present-day readers of biographies and sermons are disposed to give. The brilliance alike of the personality and of the published utterances seem to have thrown a deceptive glamour over the strength of the one and the depth of the other. Bishop Stubbs, who was disposed to be severely critical of Holland's utterances and style, was heard to say, 'I admit he never touched a subject without illuminating it.'

A personal experience may be allowed. I knew Scott Holland fairly well, and had read several of his sermons. But when, on undertaking this little supplementary memoir, I re-read attentively many of the sermons and addresses I found that I had had a grotesquely inadequate idea of the beauty of his character and the richness of his message: and especially of the vital connection of both with the most central and least disputed doctrines of Christianity.

My desire is to assure the thousands of educated people who to-day are bewildered by what they feel within themselves and by what they see going on in the world outside, that in Holland's writings and in the record of his life they may find a rich reward: spiritual and intellectual guidance: hope: endless suggestion: above all a powerful witness to the saving operation of the Holy Spirit of God among mankind.

This last is no small matter: rather it is the largest theme of all those which we think of as present-day questions. Yet

Holland was no unintelligible portent, though he combined qualities which are seldom combined in one individual. He was a great optimist: yet he realized to the full the invincible stubbornness of human perversity, the ravages of sin, the piteous failure of the preaching of the Gospel, especially his own. He was constantly in ill health and always burdened with physical disability: yet wherever he went he radiated joy. No one was more passionately convinced of the triumph of Good over Evil: yet his forecast of Judgement was terrific. Herein, and in much more besides, he was a noble example of the Christlike character and mind.

One further characteristic of his teaching reminds us of the New Testament. The Saviour's teaching was beyond any that has ever been heard, fresh and original, yet it was based always on the Law and the Prophets. So a reader of Holland's sermons should be cautioned against an easy surmise that a writer so brilliant and original must be a setter-forth of new theories. The fact is he built up his whole interpretation of life, with its joy, grief, humour, awe, love of his fellows and of beauty, sense of sin and of salvation, wholly and supremely on the facts mentioned in the Apostles' Creed, *taken as true*. He went on to show the outcome in history: the unique training of the Jews: the failure of the Law: the triumph of Christ over sin and death, and the gift of the Holy Spirit to the Christian Society. These themes he handled with astonishing freshness and power: his originality being not in the principles to which he surrendered himself, but in the vital vigour with which he grasped them and embodied them in his life. He showed how the central tenets of our Faith, which many millions still genuinely though feebly profess, can and must become the 'master-light of all our seeing,' the meaning of our membership in the Church, the interpretation of all history, the dayspring of all our hope, our fear, and our love.

That is Holland's message, and it is impossible to imagine the power of the light which would scatter our shadows, if the message were patiently taken in by our generation: because to take in revealed truth is to spread it.

The notes on Holland's writings and extracts, here given,

are not intended to be complete but only to serve as an introduction to the originals.

I have to thank several of Dr. Holland's friends for the loan of documents and for information, especially Mr. S. Holland, Canon W. Richmond, Dr. Talbot, Mr. Hodgkinson, the Bishop of Pretoria, and Mrs. Adye. Also Dr. Strong, Professor Webb, and Professor Sorley for letters printed in the Appendix.

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THE MIND AND CHARACTER OF HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND

CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHICAL

AS the memory of Scott Holland becomes dim the events of his life, few though they were, pass into complete oblivion unless vigorous effort is made to connect them with the subsequent sketch of his personality and teaching. Some readers—many I hope—of this volume will be moved to gain a nearer view of the man himself and of the impression he made on his contemporaries. They are referred with all confidence to the excellent sketch entitled *Henry Scott Holland*, by the late Stephen Paget,[1] and all that can be attempted here will be a bare record of the changes in his spheres of activity in chronological order, so that those to whom the larger volume is inaccessible may at least be made aware of the outline of a most attractive and uplifting story. A few hints are added as to the most interesting subjects which come before us for consideration in each of the separate periods.

Born in 1847, Holland was sprung from a grand-

[1] John Murray, 1921.

father successful in a mercantile career, and his uncle Edward was a well-known agriculturist. His mother, daughter of the first Lord Gifford, evidently influenced him strongly for good during his childhood, and his devotion to her till her death in 1901 is beautifully recorded in a letter written directly after. It must, however, be plain to any reader of the family history that there was nothing in his antecedents to prepare the world for such a very remarkable phenomenon as Scott Holland proved to be: for such a brilliant intellect, unfailing vitality, and profoundly religious temperament. He was, in short, as a personality, something of a portent. Nor did he give distinct promise of great intellectual power till his first class in 'Greats' at Oxford, his performance, the 'Viva' especially, being reckoned by the examiners as one of exceptional brilliancy.

He was at Eton till 1864, and though he evidently received much intellectual stimulus from his tutor Johnson, he showed no remarkable promise either in scholarship or in precocity of literary interest. But a great awakening began at Oxford after he left behind him the uncongenial labour of 'Mods,' for he was one of the favourite pupils of the noble-minded T. H. Green: and yet from the first there was a conception of human life and destiny developing within him which owed nothing whatever to any human teacher. In his school-days, though he relished literary beauty, he was bored by the minutiae of scholarship, while deep and strong the religious life now and then glinted forth, as in the letter written to his mother before he was fourteen, and

in one later on to a friend on the Real Presence, an utterance which shows the reality of his religious profession; a most noteworthy *firsthandedness* which was the special characteristic of his preaching in later life. Most interesting in this connection are the letters from Green and his great friend R. L. Nettleship, when it became clear that Holland, for all his brilliancy and hatred of dead formulae, was not only a believer in the Apostles' Creed but a passionately orthodox Christian, with convictions rooted within him which all the academic Balliol questioning, scepticism, and discussions left unassailably firm, and which, though rooted in Church tradition, expanded in fruitful vigour and freshness from this time onward.

After Balliol came the long Christ Church time, from 1871 to 1884. One can read the Memoir of this stage of his life with ever renewed interest; and note the rapidly maturing mind, the growth of rhetorical power; the stimulus gathered from the Keble group of friends, the nucleus of the future *Lux Mundi* brotherhood; and his almost unique appreciation of the most diverse specimens of mankind with a certain fine blindness towards faults in his fellow men. Some very important and characteristic letters have been selected from his correspondence, especially one on Friendship to his brother Spencer, dated April, 1878. We should notice also a remark in a letter to Miss Cartwright in December of that year. 'We are meditating an onslaught on the S.P.C.K. for its one-sided Political Economy publications—condemning so strongly all Trades Unions and giving nothing but the masters'

view.' It was this attitude which drew obloquy on Holland for his Socialism.

Part II of the Memoir gives a sketch of Holland's most arresting work during his Canonry at S. Paul's, from 1885 to 1910. The main activities were preaching under the Dome, and working for Social Reform by writing in the *Commonwealth*, and speaking to innumerable gatherings. I have heard of clergymen sitting in rows taking notes of the sermons. To the Christian Social Union he was an unfailing inspiration, and Dr. Gore's paper on the subject [1] should on no account be missed. It is followed by the most delicious extracts from letters to intimates and to children: brilliant little sallies, ironical fun, the gentlest admonition, laughable doggerel verses, and yet withal something of unobtruded depth and hints of infinity. Perhaps the most striking and unique are those addressed to a young cousin, copious enough to form a goodly section by themselves; such a combination of wit, wisdom, and holiness as it would be difficult to parallel in any age or nation.

In the middle of the S. Paul's period occurred the notable expedition to Egypt, undertaken for the sake of Bishop Wilkinson's health. They were three months on the Nile: from Cairo to Assouan and back. Holland's *Log of the Waterlogged*, designed to amuse and cheer the party against anxiety, is given in the Memoir. Nothing like it for word-painting could be found. It ought to be read in sections, not continuously, and with attention the reader will find countless rich and

[1] *Memoir*, p. 240.

racy phrases. For example: 'The procession moved off: shouts: sticks: yells. A mingling of Memphis and Margate, Pyramids and Primrose Hill.' Later, at Luxor: 'Seventy patient asses insert themselves beneath their destined burdens, and bear off lumps of heavy Cooky matter towards the west.'

Soon after 1890, Holland's marvellous gift of exhilarating a pious audience began to develop itself; and the letters show growth in largeness of vision, knowledge of men, and sympathy. From 1910 to his death in March, 1918, he lived in Christ Church, Oxford, as Regius Professor of Divinity. His influence proved perhaps less extensive than had been hoped; but as Dr. Strong remarked, it told with astonishing force on those of the undergraduates who came in contact with him; and during the few years of opportunity he had to suffer the vast interruption of the Great War.

CHAPTER II

THE PERSONALITY

WHY attempt anything that is acknowledged to be impossible? No one can clearly say what personality is or indeed what is the definition of a person. Many great thinkers have gone deep into that matter, and after long searching have emerged little the wiser. Not seldom they speak about the subject in a subdued, chastened tone which expresses something of awe and wonder, as if they had been looking into a mystery. The fact is just that. Each individual among them is obliged to look into himself, hoping to find a clue there which may unravel some of the labyrinthine secrets of his neighbours' being; and lo! he finds that though he knows himself better than he knows other people, yet he is none the less baffled in his quest; nay all the more. For the more he learns about his own personality the more he finds there is to explore, as if before some wayfarer a new region opened itself out to his view every hundred yards he advanced, each region vaster than the last, till there comes upon him a suggestion of infinity. No sooner does this suspicion dawn on his mind than he forbears from attempting to put into words what he has found.

Something like that is the experience of those who have striven to describe the personality of any ordinary

man. How, then, about the extraordinary? about one whom we should agree to call a great personality? Manifestly any description which professed to be complete would be false. Henry Scott Holland was indubitably an extraordinary man. He could not have described himself at all adequately, yet he would have made a far better job of it than any one else can hope to do.

Nevertheless there are reasons for making the attempt. Interest in personality is so general that we should be in a bad way if it led to inquiries which end in nothing. Moreover, there are some personalities which certainly seem to yield more reward to study than others. That is when they give the impression of genius: the inexplicable something which leaves its mark on the generation, sometimes on many generations, and the derivation of which cannot be traced. It is a quality of greatness that owes nothing to education, though the collective influence of the *entourage* who owe everything to education determines its form of self-expression and sometimes limits its range of activity. Holland's peculiar force of personality could not be the outcome of any education, or of any hereditary, transmitted gifts. It was in a supreme degree unaccountable and original; it showed itself in the most unexpected ways; and this was true, as I hope to make plain, not only of his character but of his intellect. For in this way he exhibited a very remarkable unity, in spite of great diversity of gifts, variety of strong, overflowing interests, and sympathetic insight into the most different kinds of human affections,

hopes, fears, frailties, greatness. If it had been otherwise; if he had turned one side of himself to one group and another, alien from the first, to another group, the uniqueness of Holland would have been far less notable than it was. Influences within and without which promised to fashion him in this way or that were powerless to prevent him from being always and everywhere himself: supremely attractive, brilliantly suggestive and witty, and all the time holy. My hope is to be able to indicate, partly anyhow, the secret of the unity which exercised a spell on all his contemporaries, and to relate it to the message delivered by him to his generation.

The first impression Holland made on strangers was that of a man of exuberant vitality and joyousness. It was many years before I could believe that his merriment was not simply due to temperament, just as his incredible quickness of brain was a gift of nature. His fun was infectious; absolutely natural, unforced, spontaneous, so that the moment he entered a room he radiated joy into every corner without apparently knowing what he was doing. The most solemn individuals present lost a little of their pomposity and self-importance, for, as has been remarked by more than one of his friends, he possessed to a surprising degree the gift of making quite ordinary people feel that his own brilliant talk owed something to their halting vapidities. He would pounce on any remark that contained a spark of interest, and light it up in a moment, with a gesture of the arm made as if in sheer gratitude for

inspiration received. And then the gurgling laugh and the sympathy in the voice! Somehow, instead of our attention being drawn to his cleverness, we felt, as a first impression, in his presence as if the whole atmosphere were full of mirth and innocent joy, and the world a storehouse of comicalities: yet without a trace of cynicism or quicksightedness for others' infirmities. No wonder George Russell dubbed him 'the most agreeable man in London.'

Doubtless his extraordinary charm was due to the unself-consciousness which in him was a great deal more than a negative virtue. We have all come across individuals who from a sense of duty suppress the desire to talk about themselves, but are unable to conceal their own interest in the ego and all its works. Such very limited success as they have achieved in the conflict with 'selfhood' has been the work of years, and the scars of old wounds are visible to the eye. Sometimes their patience excites our admiration, but it cannot be said to be what we call attractive. With Holland the impression given was not of conflict or partial endeavour. He positively disliked thinking about himself; not because it was a principle of duty to do so, but because there was in his mind another subject which enthralled his attention and refused to be displaced. That was his love for his neighbour as for a human being who claimed his reverence and deepest regard. Our common humanity appeals to all men, but on most of us it only exerts a spell when it is sweet and pleasant to our temperament and disposition. In Holland's case it seemed as though any

such test was irrelevant. It never occurred to him, as far as we could judge, to refer any doubtful point to his own taste or predilection; least of all whether respect and consideration was due to any one he came across.

Here again some discrimination is required. Unless we have been unfortunate we have all come across instances of true Christian courtesy, such as was habitually shown by Bishop King; of whom it was said you could not be in his company without feeling that along with all the tenderness, the deeply pervading charity of his ordinary address, there was always an unmistakable hint that you were called upon to be better than you were. His gentleness was unable to suppress a certain beautiful austerity which told upon us all the more forcibly because it was evidently unintended. But Holland, I should say, not only did not intend anything of the nature of an exhortation or upbraiding, but made us think that he had no eye for what was wrong in other people. He drew out the best that was in us and made it possible by his example that, for a time at any rate, we should not take the credit of it to ourselves.

Something about Bishop King frightened the self-satisfied. Holland taught us that charm, wit, humour, knowledge, alertness of observation, and many other winsome gifts were not, strictly speaking, matters of the self at all: for the more genuinely and entirely the self was forgotten the more the gifts shone; the more they captivated us all and stirred us up to wonder.

Thus we have seen him introduced to a most prosaic

young lady, and in two minutes the drawing-room echoes were waked with his nimble drollery, which yet—strange fact!—never outstripped her intelligence, or if it did, his delight at the fun carried her along and made her fancy that she too was for once a contributor, and had once been 'in Arcadia.'

But let us apply a supreme test of a Christian's ethics. What did Holland do when he was suddenly brought up against a bore of the 'worthy' and unconscious sort, one suffering from what Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch calls a 'determination of words to the mouth'? I never saw him myself fairly transfixed, but to a temperament like his many a loquacious middle-aged man must have been a sore trial. One thing is certain: Holland may have been at times indignant, nay angry, but he was never curt or rude, and it is impossible to imagine him ever giving pain. Probably his method varied in each case, and it would be hopeless to borrow from him any prescription which would move the slow-witted to imitation. That is where real genius is apt to fail as a help in time of need.

On this delicate matter I transcribe some remarks of a friend. 'I cannot resist the temptation to make my comment on the bore question: for I do think that, humanly speaking, it is a real problem for all of us who try to realize what fellowship means in life. I think H. S. H.'s sense of humour saved him from being too much bored to keep kindly; and, too, he had a lot of latent mesmeric power which gave him control and which I am sure he used instinctively; that—added

to the quizzical, whimsical look that would come into his beaming, almost caressing, expression when any one went too far—kept bores more or less in their place, and others too! But of course he suffered fools wonderfully gladly, if he felt there was any purpose to be served.'

Another who agrees with the above significantly adds, 'But there were exceptions to this; and at any rate the process was fatiguing and left its mark upon him.'

Meantime, can anything be said of his humour? It was more closely bound up with his wit than is often the case; and was markedly different from the talk of an ordinary amusing man. Very much amusing talk consists in stories—often too numerous—or innuendoes, just with a *soupçon* of malice in them, directed against others who are held in fairly high repute. Never, I suppose, did Holland stoop to either device. He loved a good story if it was opportune and rapidly told; and I doubt if any one ever told him more than one at a sitting: there was so much in his spontaneous wit which was better than any story, more creative and wholly unexpected.

In a discussion on Welsh Disestablishment, Holland suddenly interposing, 'Well, but after all, have the Welsh a right to all this consideration? Who are they? What have they done in history? They have produced one heretic and called each other Jones ever since.'

Often his sallies would be against himself. When asked what he was going to lecture about at Oxford,

'Oh, well: when you know nothing at all it is best to talk about the Universe.' In that remark there is much more than humour.

When they were directed against others there was no suspicion of the barbed point, still less of any comparison with self. A friend once asked him tentatively of an Old Testament critic of a very conservative type, 'I suppose you would say the old gentleman is just a bit wooden in mind?' 'Wooden! he creaks.' Again, when a certain Dean whom he loved and highly honoured was seriously failing in health, Holland, giving the information, added, 'Dear old man! He has gone to a well-chosen place, anyhow: Rottingdean.'

Other funny sayings are recorded by Mrs. Drew, and others again in the published letters. Now and again the literary touch is a little too pronounced for the humour, as in the admirable picture of the camels at Ephesus. Animals of all kinds provoked him to inexhaustible mirth, and in the very last talk I had with him in his Tom Quad house, he gave a rich and rare description of an old owl in his garden which came out of his hiding-place in the day time by mistake, and of the onset of smaller fry as upon an intruder. This he reproduced afterwards in the *Commonwealth*, wherein many grotesque allusions of the kind may be found. I have a dim recollection of a delicious article on Laughter—far more illuminating than Bergson's—and how elsewhere the writer gravely enumerates subjects of acute religious controversy: among them the supposed ceremonial of certain Ritualists on Palm

Sunday: bringing in the phrase, 'the soft impact of Lady Wimborne's donkey.'

His humour and his wit alike were always held in check in presence of a greater need than the need to laugh, highly though he rated that incomparable palliative of life's woes. Once he came down to Norwich to give an address before a packed hall on Purity. He was suffering from a streaming cold, and began with telling the people so, and how that he ought to have been in bed, adding, 'I am as deaf as a post, as hoarse as a raven, and as stupid as an owl,' and then delivered one of the noblest harangues I have ever heard.

Another characteristic of his humour was the underlying suggestion of infinity. The jokes are never petty or suggested by a narrow view of life, and in conversation he gave an indescribable impression of saying them because he could not help it. There was no sign that he wished to be heard or understood or appreciated.

Yet with all this spontaneity and overflowing vitality, no one ever heard him jocose in the pulpit, and in ordinary conversation the very slightest hint of vulgarity would evoke a flash of stern disapproval which seemed to shrivel up the comicality of what had been said, and revealed quite naturally and without pose the temper of the warrior of Christ at the first far-distant sound of the enemy.

For some years after getting to know Holland from casual conversation and from what others said of him I formed the impression of one who had been blessed with an exuberant vitality and with an overmastering

joyousness of disposition: so that he was unable to emphasize the sterner side of the Gospel message to the same degree as such teachers as Keble, Church, or R. M. Benson. In short, many thought, as very many think still, that there must be something superficial in his presentation of Christianity, and that it was affected by the strong current of opinion which tolerates vagueness of doctrine so long as it encourages good citizenship; and plenty of piety so long as no undue stress is laid on the awful note of severity in the Bible, on the probation of our present life, and on a judgement to come. Not till we read his writings with some care do we realize how unusually false any such estimate would be. But if we disagree with it we ought to admit the necessity of harmonizing the traits already noticed with some deeper characteristics still to be noted. If Holland's optimism and vitality of joyousness is not to be ascribed to natural temperament, to what are we to attribute it ?

It cannot have been the outcome of rare bodily health. In 1874 he and some friends went on a reading party in Cornwall. (I quote from Mr. Spencer Holland's letter.) The disastrous sequel was due to their playing cricket—

in unconscious proximity of an open sewer at the foot of the cliff which resulted in typhoid fever in three cases and affected the health of others, including H. S. H. The death of Stephen Fremantle from this cause, coming, as it did, just at the time of H. S. H.'s ordination as deacon, was a terrible strain. I was present when he first became aware of the danger of Stephen Fremantle's illness, and it is the only time I ever saw him break down and weep at his mother's knees. Undoubtedly the frequent headaches from which he subsequently suffered at Christ Church was due to this time of stress and latent

poisoning, and in 1876 he had to get leave off two terms (I think) and went abroad.

His impulsiveness and joy in life led him, no doubt, to excessive exercise if feeling in health (e.g. bicycling at one time was a furore), while if unwell and overdone it led him to excess in collapse. He really tried to look after his health in later life, and was interested in his regular doctor's orders: but the habit of rapid eating and much talking at meals no doubt was deleterious. I am sure the care of him by his sister, so long as she lived with him, and of Miss Alice Hancock was all that was possible to a man of his temperament and vivacity, and that too much must not be put down to permanent ill health.

The result of this calamity was in Holland's case nothing short of tragic. If he had been capable of exercising a little vigilance on his bodily symptoms, a little prudential application of science to his daily régime, no one can tell how much of suffering and growing disability he might have been spared. But he was one of those uncommon people who find it difficult to consider the claims of the body to wise and orderly treatment. He had a deep constitutional abhorrence of all fussing about health; and more than that, his ordinary view of his body was as if it were something hardly connected with his true self, recalling Thucydides' pithy phrase about the Athenians' power of endurance in their prime: 'using their bodies as if they did not belong to them at all.' Thus, when writing of terrible boils on his leg: 'As to this old leg, they tell me if I can carry it as far as Seaford it will get well.'

After dinner he never knew what he had been eating, and when with considerable difficulty he was induced to see a doctor, the visit was rendered abortive by his constant habit of asking the grave physician a heap of

most interesting questions about *his* work, never once mentioning his own ailment, unable apparently to give a moment's attention to the subject. Then as time passed and engagements pressed, suddenly: 'Now, dear, you must go: good-bye'; and with a most cordial shake of the hand the medical adviser—perhaps a stranger—was dismissed; charmed with the talk he had had, but more in the dark than ever as to the problem to be solved. Has any one known a more baffling patient?[1]

Connected with this idiosyncrasy was his disregard of the generally absorbing question of raiment. The trouble which confronted his faithful attendant, Miss Hancock, was not that he preferred old clothes to new because he could not afford to buy the new or that he was ascetic on principle and by rule: but that he found it increasingly difficult to remember that there were such things as clothes at all. Here again it might be supposed that he was absent-minded. In a sense he was; he paid scant attention to food, clothing, or money unless there was a question of relieving distress. There is a delightful tale of his being induced, after long cajoling, to purchase a new pair of pantaloons, and when they were first placed in the drawer alongside of a no longer presentable pair a beggar appeared on the threshold. Holland never found it easy to resist a beggar unless his account of his woes was glaringly fictitious, and when, after a brief colloquy, he hurried upstairs and came back with the garment asked for, investigation soon revealed that the

[1] See Mr. S. Holland's remarks in Appendix B (2).

pair selected was, alas! not the outworn, and let us say it, disreputable, but the spic-and-span glossy broadcloth fresh and delightful from a quite fashionable tailor. Or it might be a daintily-cooked little meal that was swept away to meet a similar demand: again not on any theoretical principle of charity but simply because he could not help it.

He seemed also strangely blind to the patent knavishness of these unfortunate parasites of society. What he felt about them was a deep compassion for them as victims of a disordered social system; and a deep interest in them as human beings.

A friend of Holland has remarked that his character, owing to its massiveness and simplicity—which words, though not obviously applicable, can, I think, be justified—disqualified him to some extent as a counsellor of scrupulous, not very clear-sighted, seekers after the good. He would be apt to shelve questions as if they were needless, and as if a little concentration on fundamentals would dispel doubts, hesitations, and timidity.

This may well be true in the sense that a strong, healthy character always finds it difficult to be entirely sympathetic with the morbid; and very often the most wholesome treatment of over-scrupulosity and self-deception is to ignore them and to let in a fresh breeze of manly confidence in the power of the Holy Spirit. It would be absurd to classify all applicants for advice as morbid; but it is probable that, on the whole, there is no guidance in complex troubles so wholesome and effective as a restoration of confidence in the divine

ordering of individual lives and the rationality of trust in God. No one of our religious teachers could enforce this uplifting message with such power and conviction as Holland.

These notes make no claim to be at all complete, nor do I attempt even to enumerate the many noble qualities in a great human-hearted man. Enough, however, has been said to furnish material for something in the way of a conspectus to be attempted later on, in the hope of indicating the unity of the character and the use he made of his gifts.

Extracts from a letter received will make the picture a little less fragmentary. It is a very brief answer to a general question as to the place of Holland as a philosopher.

I remember having a parson to see me once who was a profound (but extremely stupid) student of Hegel. He found Hegelianism in all sorts of places, including *Alice in Wonderland*. Holland was immensely amused, although he said I had given him away, because the excellent man wanted to discuss some point of Hegel's doctrine with Holland, and I said that I did not think that Holland would help him much as I doubted if he had ever read that particular treatise. In point of fact he had not.

As regards the collection of sayings I feel quite hopeless. Things continually come into my mind which Holland said; but it would probably take a week or so to explain to anybody what they meant. Nobody was less of a professional 'talker' than Holland, and the things he said always arose out of the general conversation going on round him. He was not like the man who gets up in the morning and arranges his conversation for the day, making plans to let off epigrams at intervals of so many minutes. Holland not only did not do this himself, but would have made it difficult for any one who did. A man of that kind depends on getting the right repartee. Holland would probably have given the wrong repartee—not viciously, nor of malice prepense; but simply because he saw things in unexpected lights.

It will have been noticed that the friends who have written appreciations of Holland have abstained from any serious attempt to describe his conversation. As compared with other brilliant talkers I have known he never—unless for a prearranged conference—hammered at any one subject till his own opinion was either accepted by his audience or anyhow understood. Every topic that cropped up he instantly absorbed, and more, I think, by the eager listening than by anything he said made the company feel that things were being said which had relation to big regions of speculation. Again, though his comments were illuminating, fresh, always quick with humour, I cannot recall a single word which savoured of ridicule or contempt, no matter how fatuous may have been the sentiments just uttered.

He never produced knowledge except in little sparks just to bring out a fragment of truth which was being ignored or misconceived, and always as if his contribution was quite insignificant. Similarly, though he must have remembered scores of funny stories, I only once heard him tell one: that was in the vestry of S. Paul's shortly before I was on to preach at the 7 p.m. service; and he warned me against trying to be intellectual, as the audience would be easily left behind and often were. 'You see people come here to preach, and assume that the whole crowd have been for months burying their noses in Robert Elsmere, and lo! after all, it is the housemaid you know at home.' Then rapidly but with infinite gusto: 'Did you hear of the unfortunate domestic who gave warning after a year or two in a quite good home, on the ground that she

could not stand the words used repeatedly at family prayers, "O God, Who hatest nothing but the housemaid"?'

I gathered from that one instance that if the incident was really comic he didn't mind whether it actually occurred or not; or, anyhow, who said or did the funny thing. Some good *raconteurs* give, or perhaps invent, the time and place, and of course there are many stories the fun of which depends on the actual person being known.

In some of these respects Henry Sidgwick offered as a talker a certain resemblance to Holland, but it would be easier after being present with the former to say next day what he had been talking about. Neither was ever guilty of the vapid, the commonplace, or the trivial, though Holland had a unique gift for lighting up other people's platitudes.

But I must not claim to sufficient acquaintance with his talk to say anything more. Some of his older friends will think these notes miserably inadequate, as indeed they are. One all-pervading characteristic of these and other fascinating men has often been noticed: the entire absence of self-consciousness. This was markedly true of Henry Sidgwick; emphatically recorded of Keble; noticeable in Gladstone, and almost pre-eminently in Frederick Temple; but considering his peculiar gifts for conversation it was more unexpected, perhaps, and more impressive in Holland than in any of the others named.

A word must be said about Holland's endowment in the matter of Art and Literature. Many took note

of his love of music, wherein his taste was cosmopolitan but, though not exactly fastidious, always refined; and what he liked he loved. But I should hazard the opinion that his appreciation of literature was even more remarkable. Perhaps that was due to his giving more time to reading than to listening to concerts. It has been asserted, and I can well believe it, that his reading aloud of Browning's *Evelyn Hope* was a revelation to all who heard it. The voice, of course, was extraordinarily expressive, though I fancy it might have been a more perfect organ for preaching and speaking in large buildings if he had had a little training; but that is to imagine Holland troubling about one of his own accomplishments, which is unthinkable.

Again, his appreciation of painting, sculpture, and architecture was no less keen and spontaneous, but probably less remarkable owing to lack of material : that is to say for some reason, not easy to determine, he cared curiously little for foreign travel; and one could hardly conceive of him pacing conscientiously through any museum, no matter how splendid the treasures to be scanned there. He gives in one of his published letters the unexpected reason, that human beings living and toiling and struggling towards the higher life interested him far more.

There was a typical and much respected don at Oxford whom I faintly remember as a man one would hardly think of as inspired, or in any way enkindling. His name was effectively used by Holland, writing, if I remember right, from Athens, and lamenting the

fact that all the glories were past and gone; 'and after all what is a dead Plato to a living Ince?' In this view of travelling how startling the contrast between Holland and most of his closest friends, Dean Church, W. Bright, and E. S. Talbot!

In considering these manifold aspects of a richly-endowed nature, we are confronted with one comprehensive question, the answer to which will be suggested later. It is indisputable that in his life there was a large element of renunciation. He gave the best years of his activity to editing the *Commonwealth* which brought him little credit and a good deal of financial loss. If he had devoted his writing to art, criticism, or characterizations of public men in their lifetime his name would probably have been more generally known and his influence on his generation more widely spread. It will be asked, then, on what principle did he order his life? If he left such goodly talents uncultivated, into what direction did he divert his buoyant energies? He was always working and teaching, and it cannot for a moment be supposed that any restriction of effort on his part was due to indolence. Nor again to diffidence. Many of us have nothing to say about a work of art except that we like it, or the contrary. Only if our pleasure is due to a genuine perception and native imagination can we say why and how the picture or the symphony becomes part of the furniture of our souls. But Holland was one of the select few whose insight let him into the secret of Art or of Nature. His criticisms were not opinions, but spontaneous expression of what he really saw and heard: they were

convictions and therefore supremely interesting and forcible.

Many, however, will be puzzled not only by his tepid love for foreign travel but, e.g., by his indifference to the Odes of Horace. For he loved literary skill and finish and precision; and nobody enjoyed Marson's pungent pamphlet more whole-heartedly [1] for its delicate choice of words. Obviously, then, Holland refused to give scope to these notable gifts, and denied himself much pleasure which would be generally thought to be not only innocent but edifying. What was the meaning of this?

Lastly, we will look at the question of his asceticism. Most people failed to see that he was ascetic at all; and a sagacious onlooker, the late Frank Cornish of Eton, said once that if Holland had been a real ascetic his influence would have been greater. On being told this Holland was somewhat distressed, but wrote that he had always thought he was bidden to show the joyous side of a Christian's life. The truth is, I take it, that while he gave no sign whatever of the gloom or even the austerity of asceticism, his life was one long-continued, stern self-discipline. Not only did he exhibit unintermittently the *joie de vivre* in spite of ill health, frequent pain, and a constant sense of the overwhelming disappointments met with in his social work, but the immense output of energy through all these depressing influences was only made possible by the strictest regulation of his daily life, and by

[1] *Huppim, Muppim—and Ard:* still to be bought. An exposure of some of our teaching methods, and not yet out of date.

methodical habits which in his young days were far from congenial to his temperament.

His work at S. Paul's was terrific, and much aggravated by inconsiderate ladies who kept on worrying him for this and that, in season and out of season. When told that one of these was on the telephone : ' Tell her I'm dead,' was rapped out, and he went on writing. But ordinarily he gave no indication of being hustled or annoyed for a moment at the most vexatious interruptions.

What, then, has to be explained is the joyousness of temper triumphant over physical infirmity and of a life full of renunciation. To which may be added a deep consciousness of failure and of all that failure meant. Riding many years ago on Wimbledon Common he remarked, pointing out a small church, 'I have preached in that church pretty incessantly for eleven years, and have not noticed a single difference in any one's behaviour the whole time,' or words to that effect, quite calmly spoken.

CHAPTER III

HOLLAND AS PROPHET

THE object of selecting a few of the points in the sermons is to show how opportune the message is for allaying many of the most baffling of modern perplexities. But they will of course fail of any such effect unless it is felt by the reader that the teaching is based on assumptions which all Christians are prepared to make, and that the statement of principles carries conviction, even though it may often seem at first that the principles enunciated are freshly put and novel in their significance. That undoubtedly is often the characteristic of the discourses. Yet the surest way to miss their meaning is to suppose that their value lies in their novelty, cleverness, or even their originality. I am in hopes that an instance or two, if carefully considered, will secure assent to this estimate.

In *God's City* there is one address of almost unique power on the subject of Worship. In no department of Church life is the attitude of the lay public so vague and indeterminate; nor is there any more provocative of controversy. It would be difficult to exaggerate the uncertainty that has prevailed as to why any one goes to church at all. Some would say the motive is to set a good example; others to hear a sermon which may prove to be useful; others again to take

part in an attractive pastime which helps a little to distract the mind from worries, and gently to stir the religious emotion without waking any uncomfortable sense of responsibility. Here and there one catches a more religious note in the assertion that the dominant idea of worship is the expression of gratitude. Holland, however, ' sublimates ' the whole subject by a very noble exposition of the place of praise in worship and of Creeds as the statement of the claim of human thought to be concerned in that worship.

There is a difference showing itself in the two types of worship which have been maintained side by side in the Church of Christ. The distinctive note of the Church's worship is that in it we are taken up into a great action: into a drama in which mighty things are happening: it is not a scenic display, for it is directed not towards us but towards God. ' We all stand round as ourselves the scene of the act. . . . We are caught up into His act, as fuel whereon the flame alights.'

Here we notice the insight shown. Many observers have remarked that in Catholic worship the objective element is far more emphasized than in that which is associated with the Protestant temper. But to both of the two great groups into which worshippers to-day are divided there is the same austere demand made and the same glorious hope presented: both being of the essence of the Christian life, each one being bound up with the other. The demand is that we recognize and respond gladly to the central teaching of the two great Sacraments, Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. Both are based on God's action: both therefore appeal

to man's will: and the response of the entire multitude which no man can number is the perfectly harmonious identification of the corporate will of the Church with the will of God, shown in the regeneration of mankind through suffering.

In other words, man is called upon in the power of the life given to him in Baptism to worship and adore the divine Father in the Son with whom we are mystically but most truly united as 'very members incorporate . . . which is the blessed company of all faithful people.' That is the meaning of our being 'baptized into His death,' for the words indicate eternal life given—actually given—to the unconscious babe, and manifested by an ever-growing eagerness to follow in the footsteps of the Sufferer Who 'endured the Cross, despising the shame, for the joy which was set before Him.' Adoration of God through Christ means acceptance of the Calvary ideal of life: for the action of God which redeemed mankind is a call to the Church to unite herself in will with the sufferings of the Son of Man each time that we receive afresh the gift of His blessed Body and Blood.

So far I have attempted to bring into one focus certain important aspects of Holland's personality and character and the questions which arise in connexion with them. Before trying to answer these questions I have thought it advisable to give in rough outline specimens of his most important sermons, together with some notes on the Romanes Lecture, and of the unpublished digest of his Oxford lectures, and one or two other series of utterances not yet published. The

object before us is to discern, if possible, some principle at work which may throw light on the very distinctive and various elements both in his character and mind, and give to the reader some hint of a deep underlying unity.

This object will be best attained if some salient points in the teaching are set out in review first; then the principles of his social reform work; and lastly the bearing of these on his character and view of life.

It has been pointed out, especially by Dr. E. S. Talbot and Dr. Gore, that Holland was a remarkably orthodox theologian; that in spite of the unrivalled freshness of his exposition of Scripture and his very modern way of handling all sides of Christian doctrine, his thought was always based on the facts enumerated in the Apostles' Creed and the fundamental interpretation of them given by the Church throughout the ages: namely, that the Man, Jesus of Nazareth, was the Son of God; that His sacrifice offered on Calvary was the salvation of the world; that this was attested by the Resurrection and by the work of the Holy Spirit.[1]

[1] Some readers of the sermons may object that Holland laid more stress on the Resurrection than on the Day of Pentecost. This may perhaps be granted as to the form of the teaching: but substantially he was full of the message of Pentecost. For he grasped that the work of the Spirit has been to cement the union between the risen Lord and the Church. A question was put to him as to the explanation of the fact that the mystical union is apparently omitted in the Creeds: was it not because the spiritual presence of Christ in the Church was so universally acknowledged that specific mention of it in the Creeds was unnecessary—the clauses in the Creed being added one by one according as it was found that certain points of doctrine were either being ignored or taught with a one-sided emphasis; but this doctrine was not contested or misunderstood or perverted? Holland assented.

But it may be asked, how is this orthodoxy compatible with so much brilliancy and genuine Modernism? I offer below some considerations in answer to this question and would only point out here that the objections felt by many to orthodoxy are based on the assumption that an orthodox man is one who believes things on authority without thinking them out for himself; and consequently his enunciation of them is unutterably weary to the listener, being a dead echo of formulae which are never apprehended. The critics of the orthodox would perhaps allow that this infirmity is a matter of degree.

A very slight acquaintance with Holland's writings would make it for ever impossible to connect him, even for a moment, with anybody or anything second-hand, or tame, or platitudinous, or outworn. His mind was incredibly vigorous, versatile, ready, and plastic. He felt by a secret intuition whither the currents of modern thought and feeling were tending; but instead of showing a shallow kind of sympathy by reluctantly changing his own point of view, he gripped anew the primal spiritual fact, 'The Word was made flesh'—for therein he showed in countless utterances, by his life no less than by his speech, that for him and all of us all joy, hope, fear, and love of God and man was planted and grew from the renewal of humanity by Jesus Christ and from the redemption of the world which He accomplished on the hill of Calvary.

That is the first proposition I would submit in answer to our question. When he became aware of a tendency in others to look on life independently of

the fact of the Incarnation, he reasserted its claims, its manifoldness, its infinity. His teaching was always positive. He did not argue or controvert, but represented, with a resourcefulness ever new and unexpected, what the great fact meant to the Church of God and consequently to all mankind.

In so far, then, as the above question about Holland's orthodoxy and 'genuine Modernism' has been answered, it is because a distinction has been drawn between genuine and hollow Modernism. I take Modernism in general to be a disposition to modify the view of history taken ordinarily by the so-called orthodox; and also the plain meaning of certain clauses in the Creeds, on the ground that the profession of belief in these mysteries has often been the sign of a dead mind; and that in the desire for a living, wholly sincere faith it has been thought that the first step to be taken is to recast or destroy, in the hope that the newness of the bottle may afford some guarantee for the newness and genuineness of the wine. These too have claimed, quite justly, that our Lord modernized the Mosaic Law by spiritualizing it.

Others go further in the process and are accordingly called 'advanced'; their aim seems to be to find some other basis for their beliefs than the Incarnation, and their quest assumes very different forms in different cases. A large number of this latter class differ from the former as well as from the orthodox in that they unconsciously criticize the action of the Infinite on the Finite purely from the finite plane; and whereas the more sober-minded are prepared to be confronted with

mysteries that pass man's understanding, and take them in while waiting patiently for more light, the more impetuous are unable to brook such submission of the understanding, and so think scorn of any doctrines which their intellects cannot justify and comprehend.

To supplement this very rough classification it may be added that a very important line of demarcation should be drawn between two large groups which exist side by side in all the three classes named; i.e. between those who are and those who are not growing in the conviction that the God whom we worship is acting upon men as free moral agents, working incessantly for their salvation. The former, nevertheless, recognize the divine action as compatible with the fact that normally nature works according to law; but that there is no limit to be set to the influence of spirit. Hence they approach the question of miracles with a very different expectation from that of others, who often postulate that an event must be in conformity with 'natural law,' i.e. thoroughly intelligible, if it is to be credible. To the one group the infinite wonder of the Incarnation, its inexhaustible mystery, is one of its strongest credentials; to the other it is a mere stumbling-block.

At this point we can clear up the question, on which much depends, in what sense exactly are we to understand the kind of orthodoxy we attribute to a theologian like Holland and to those who think with him? It was not a calmly balanced resultant of different arguments for and against a particular set of tenets; but a

fervid and untrammelled self-surrender to Christ as to a living and ever-present Lord; whence the experience, which we find often alluded to in his sermons, of self-conquest, self-forgetfulness, and inward peace; so that the wonders of which he read in the Bible and which we call miracles were records of the same Power at work as that which wrought the uplifting and inspiration felt within himself and observable in Church history. Nevertheless, as has always been the case with saint-like seekers after God, the sense of the Power was compatible with an ever-deepening sense of sin. Similarly we may note in him the paradox, even more beyond our understanding, that while he poured out rapturous expressions of a ' living hope ' in the working-out of the divine scheme, his grip on the desolating evidences of the power of evil still marring, befouling, and thwarting the glorious work of creation was as vigorous and powerful as any of our foremost teachers have exhibited.

Now we can see, perhaps, the meaning of the attitude which Holland habitually assumed towards scientific discoveries or new and plausible theories of the history of the Old Testament. Some one remarked about his very notable essay on Faith, in *Lux Mundi*, that he seemed to be congratulating himself on possessing a faculty which enabled him cheerfully to abandon any discredited tenet and at once take up with its opposite. Such an estimate could only be possible to one who had never read the more philosophical of his discourses, nor learnt how passionately he insisted on the harmony between Faith and Reason. Of this more anon. But

there is a more vital consideration which, if I am not mistaken, sets the matter in a truer light.

Holland was not only a philosopher, an evangelist, and a strenuous practical worker, but also a mystic; by which expression I mean one who had a consciousness of real, personal communion with God vivid enough to make him immune to any intellectual attack on his convictions as to the relation between man and God. Perhaps an analogy may help. Suppose A is in love with B, and with a lover's insight sees and knows more of the inner personality than any one else, but has been misinformed as to certain facts in her antecedents, and subsequently is told the truth. It is not impossible that what now comes to his knowledge may seem hardly to agree with all that he had hitherto felt about the loved one. Would not the new facts, however, fail to disturb him, in proportion as his personal knowledge was true and was founded upon intuition into the innermost character rather than upon outward actions? I take it this lover A would hardly notice any disparagement, nor concern himself to ransack the evidence and prove there had been exaggeration.

Some such parallel applies fairly—as far as we can judge—to Holland and the Bible critics. His view of the Old Testament varied. He thought of it as the narrative of a Chosen People, who through strange sufferings and deliverances rose to a far greater 'knowledge of the Most High than had been reached by any other people whatsoever'; and further, that this estimate of our spiritual forefathers is too broadly based on the whole record, and leads so subtly and so inevitably

to the final deliverance revealed by the Gospel that no conceivable modification of details could make any difference to the unique message of the whole. Holland's view of God as Saviour was based primarily on personal experience. Doubtless that was in him the bias which no good historian is without; that is to say he naturally looked at history as the record of God's scheme of salvation working itself out; and so was emphatic in asserting that the Hebrews were the only real historians there have ever been.

Here we touch upon the distinction between groups noted above. There are readers of history who conceive of God as an idea which man is evolving and is all the better for thinking about; but to whom the thought of God as an Infinite Being Who has redeemed the world and is engaged in saving mankind as the years go on, is alien. They do not deny it but leave it as a question in suspense: which means of course they only half consciously interpret history as without God. These—and they are many—are challenged to make clear to themselves whether they are in theoretical agreement with Holland and the Hebrews or not. A large majority of English people, I am sure, are in agreement. They will find every word that he says on history is of thrilling interest; for he stirs their slumbering faith into activity by the vital joyousness of his own.

We are still, however, in danger of supposing that his faith owes its strength, if not to an emotional temperament, at any rate to a kind of mystic faculty which is lacking to ordinary Christians. Against this idea we have to set the plain truth that he could only

conceive of Faith as based on fact; and by fact he meant not only spiritual experience but facts in history.

But it will be objected that philosophers disallow historical evidence for abnormal events. In regard to this point I must refer the reader to the analysis of Holland's Romanes Lecture, and to Dr. Strong's letter published in the Appendix. It is possible for thinkers who are unable to see a reason for believing we know anything; who seriously doubt the existence of a universe external to themselves; to discard all historical evidence as fallacious. But Holland was not writing for such interpreters of life any more than Bishop Butler was. He knew that the vast majority of mankind assume the common-sense view of things, and that through history we certainly get nearer to reality.

Holland's orthodoxy, then, was the vitally sincere and buoyant conviction that any one who professed a belief in a divine Creator was bound by history, by conscience, by the developing revelation of God, to believe that the world is a redeemed place, and our life the training time for an unspeakably glorious eternity. Two important questions arise at this point. (1) Was he orthodox all round, or was his creed eclectic? If the latter, on what points did he lay most stress? (2) How was he able to be optimistic in presence of the ghastly evidence of wickedness all around; and in the thought, not to be banished, of the destiny of unrepentant sinners?

(1) Space forbids more than a brief consideration of this point. As a rule men of large sympathetic minds and buoyant disposition are prone to lay stress on the

promises of the Gospel, rather than on the warnings, and in regard to the present time either to minimize the latter or to assume vaguely that all will come right in the long run. This is the inclination to be eclectic in obedience to temperament: to try to disregard evil and preach the doctrine of benevolence to our fellow men. Another form of eclecticism extremely common in England is to take Christianity from the individualistic standpoint and ignore Church authority; or, as seems to be the Roman practice, to insist on Church rules and let the moral standard for the individual be thereby regulated. Thirdly, we have the vast multitude in all countries who hanker after the moral teaching of Christ, but discard the doctrine of the supernatural. These are the principal forms of eclecticism concerned with Christianity. There is one more to be mentioned concerned with Theism and ignoring the Incarnation. This is a creed which prevails among academic philosophical circles, whence emanate books of consummate brain-power designed to show the probability that there is a God, but avoiding all discussion of a divine revelation : of corporate life : of individual and corporate probation for eternity. The characteristic of all divergencies—or nearly all—from the Faith called Catholic is well denoted by the word anthropocentricity.

Now at first sight Holland was a teacher in sympathy with every generous human aspiration towards betterment of this world and of our society and of individual lives. But any attentive reader of his sermons gradually comes to see that his love for his fellow men, his

hope for society, his overwhelming sense of the value of each human soul, all sprang from an unintermittent sense of the reality and vastness of God's scheme of salvation revealed in Christ, accepted and worked out by and in the Church of the Chosen People, quickened by the indwelling of the Divine Spirit Himself. He showed in his life as well as in his teaching what human character can make of earthly experiences if they are interpreted in the light of God's self-revelation apprehended by faith in due proportion. By this I mean that, like S. Paul, he surrendered himself to the Truth in *all* its aspects as far as the human mind can discern them.

It is impossible, of course, to justify this claim without an exhaustive examination of all his writings; but I venture to assert in confidence that each school of thought that is drawn by sympathy with a partial statement of revelation would find in his teaching passages which suggest that the particular doctrine is just the one which appeals to him the most and on which he has concentrated his whole mind with all vigour and exultation and rapture of spirit. Then lo! in close juxtaposition to the outpouring of one truth the reader comes upon the correlative truth, not delivered in cold balance of statement but in equal wealth of language and flaming force of conviction. With the exception, perhaps, of von Hügel, I doubt if there is a single modern theologian who has shown such receptivity of the divine message to man, in all its manifold appeal, in such balanced proportion and vital vigour of first-hand conviction, as Holland shows

throughout in the utterance of his life and character and of the Gospel he offered to his fellow men, his brothers and sisters in Christ our Saviour.

The secret of this wonderful achievement was that apparently, since he began to think for himself, he always started with God but never ignored man. All that is attractive, nay, all that is true in the anthropocentric view of life this wholly theocentric ambassador of Christ could unfold and amplify and enrich, because he learnt early in life that only in humble, self-forgetful acceptance of the divine can man begin to learn what it means to be human.

It is not possible to give here any adequate support to this estimate of Holland's teaching. I only throw it out as a challenge. If it is approximately true, Holland's message is undeniably a message of unity and conciliation to all sections and groups of religious people far and near. So much it certainly was.

(2) This question can only be tentatively answered. How can Holland's optimism be explained if, as is alleged, he held that there was a hell in store for unrepentant sinners ?

It may serve to bring out the truth if we compare Holland's teaching with that of the great apostle of unworldliness, Father R. M. Benson of Cowley, a mighty exponent of the severity as well as of the love of God, and probably the most ascetic of all the evangelists whom England has produced since the Reformation. It came as a shock to some of us to find that Holland thought very little of Benson, and it has been said that many years ago, when Holland was quite a

young man, he attended one of the older priest's retreats, but with some others escaped before the addresses were concluded, quite unable to tolerate the appalling presentation of the eternal destiny of the wicked which Benson was giving.

When Holland wrote in the *Commonwealth* a note on the Founder of Cowley just after his death he dismissed the subject as unimportant, characteristically noticing one pleasing fact, viz. that it was in evidence Benson frequently laughed heartily. Holland evidently knew little or nothing of the great saint, thinker, and poet: one who was rightly pronounced to be one of the most influential of all the religious teachers of our time. How was this?

For many years I imagined that a profound difference in eschatological outlook was the explanation. A patient study of Benson's two volumes on the Psalms would convince any inquirer that the Bible teaching on this tremendous subject is far more terrific than our sensitive, soft, modern Christian can bear to think; and his saying that we have no more right to withdraw ourselves from the judgements of God than we have from His love is difficult to dispute, but it goes a long way. Now Holland, to a casual listener of his sermons who had not made a study of his teaching, gave the impression that he was absorbed in the optimistic presentation of Christianity, and only a slight space in his published discourses is given to the subject of Judgement. I should say the inference was fairly general that the two teachers were delivering two different messages.

But certain facts emerged which gave us pause. Some one spoke of a sermon of Holland's on Hell which was as terrifying as any of Donne's; and one who knew both men testified that Holland in Confession was just as stern as Benson was in the pulpit; and that Benson in confession was habitually as encouraging as Holland in his preaching. I have come to believe that such divergence as there was between them was far more owing to the difference in their views of the world and of such subjects as Art and Science, and probably History. The question is most interesting, but does not properly concern us here: but it is abundantly clear how incessantly Holland preached, not the renunciation of the world by the individual, but the transformation of it by the Church.

On the question of Eternal Punishment Holland, it may be conjectured, was at one with Dean Church; in recognizing frankly that our finite minds cannot at present reconcile some of the sayings of the Lord with what we have come to learn of His love; in that the faculty for doing so has not been given us. But he never adopted the shallow tone of those who try to treat the awful warnings as negligible, or profess to keep an open mind on the subject while obviously drifting further and further into a heedless Universalism. There are only two or three passages in the sermons which I have read, which enable one to infer how tremendous to him the divine warnings were, and how unspeakably horrible the symptoms of human wills rejecting the offer of eternal life made to all by a loving Creator. It may be said that Holland's hopeful

view of man's relation to his Maker is combined with the severest possible view of his responsibility for preferring anything whatever to the following of Christ and the daily growing in His likeness.

In regard, then, to Holland's interpretation of human life, it is found to be bound up with his Creed. What is distinctive about his mind is the extraordinary firmness of his grip on the central facts of the Christian Revelation. Was this the outcome of a certain type of character: or was the character the outcome of the creed? It is doubtful if this question ought to be asked, and certain that if Holland had been asked it he would not have attempted an answer. In so far as we may consider it some further facts of his teaching must first be looked at in connexion with his personality. So far, however, I would submit that the clue to the general question must be found in the whole-hearted surrender of his whole being to the Christ of the Gospels. Every fact recorded of Him was to Holland unspeakably precious and vitally important; because he seems to have learnt early in life that every high hope which lifted him on; every rebound from despair; every guiding light which he could safely follow through the murky labyrinth of this sinful world: all these, and countless other glimpses of glory which transformed all pain and suffering and failure into blessedness and peace, were not the work of an intellect wrestling with insoluble problems, nor the welling-up of an uninstructed pious emotion, but the gift of the same present and infinitely loving Father whom Christ had revealed. The Gospel story, and

all History and Art and Science, were alike congruous to the convictions about the Holy Spirit which his own experience had planted deep and unassailable in his heart. He was full of faith which is in its essence incommunicable; but he called throughout his life to his brothers and sisters in Christ to become partakers of his joy.

If it be urged that some such appeal has been made by every good Christian since the Day of Pentecost, I would point out that Holland's religion, though at first blush variegated, manifold, steeped in intellectuality, the product of an incomparably alert mind, and presented in such copious rhetoric that the reader is often left behind, yearning for some nearer knowledge of the joyful tidings—in spite of all this, it is in reality the outcome of a faith in the fundamental, familiar truths which all professing Christians openly avow; and by which very many who profess nothing live without knowing it and are clean-hearted and strong. Holland is a triumphant witness to the power of the Holy Spirit in a member of the Church who has faith and understanding, but, above all, humility, and an abounding love for his fellow men based ever on the love of God. There is nothing strained or ingenious or remote about his creed. The truths on which he lived we all acknowledge; but then he welcomed them and grew in them because he forgot himself under the spell of a great desire.

Less obvious but quite as important is the power of his testimony to the endless suggestiveness of truth revealed in a contradiction, as we call it, if the grand

condition is fulfilled, viz. that the two sides of the thing revealed should be held in even balance. It is sometimes difficult for a reader of his sermons not to believe that he prized the privilege of membership in the Church above that of prayer; or the Eucharist equally with Baptism; or Reason equally with Faith; or the last five Commandments above the first five, and in many other ways was touched by the prevailing disease of one-sidedness. But if we would be learners from this richly-gifted prophet we shall turn from the impassioned statement of one truth to another volume where its correlative is proclaimed with no less power and sincerity. The loyalty of Holland to every aspect of Revelation, and the depth of his foundation-beliefs, are a constant rebuke to all party-spirit and all sectional zeal: all truncation of God's Word.

Thus to take three forms of 'extremist' teaching. Had Holland lived on, he would not have attacked any position, but he would have rejoiced to be called to reassert the truths which were being ignored. One group insists on the Eucharist, to the virtual exclusion of Baptism. The whole of Holland's teaching assumed, as Father Benson's invariably did, that we are the recipients of the supernatural life given in Baptism, and that the Eucharist is the Food that sustains it. Moreover, his grand positive message was Scriptural throughout, and consequently was a sustained warning against a deadly peril of to-day—a mechanical religion. To those who trust in an individualistic, emotional faith in dread of scientific discovery—a dwindling number perhaps—Holland taught the true Modernism which

welcomes every new advance in truth as a growth in our knowledge of God; and the great lesson from all history that the true life on earth and in heaven is corporate. Then, in answer to the uneasy Christians who hope for fresh light to dawn from a re-casting of our Creeds, he expressed not only a passion for Rationality in belief and worship, but a profound conviction that in the facts stated in our Creeds we have the warrant for all our foundation-hopes, and for confidence in the nearness of God Himself to the humblest of His children.

Much more might be said. Let me repeat again how in his social work Holland exhibited not only a splendid zeal for righteousness, and a poet's imagination of what a State might be, but a consummate wisdom in restricting his teaching to the fervid appeal to the national conscience; and to the ruthless exposure of all self-interest masquerading in the guise of political expediency.

In these scattered and most inadequate notes of Holland's teaching I have more than once strayed into the subject of his personality. Very little remains to be said.

Just as the disability of ill health prevented Holland's writing from assuming the imposing form of a massive learned treatise, so that people inferred that he was only a brilliant rhetorician, his unfailing, radiant joyousness made it easy to classify him as a vivacious and fascinating companion disposed to belittle the grim and terrible side of the message from the unseen world. The latter estimate is even more hollow and

false than the former. It is impossible to understand the mind or character of a great prophet, unless we are ready to believe that a constant sense of the divine Presence does gradually illuminate and transform and beautify both one and the other. Holland laboured to explain the utmost claim of the sublime faculty of Reason and its relation to 'Faith's transcendent dower.' Similarly his unfailing perception of the gloriousness of this life of ours kept in check, but never for long concealed, his grief and indignation at men's rejection of God's grace and their callousness to the 'deep sighing of the poor.' Blended with a rapture of spirit, for which nothing human could account, there was in him a profound sense of the awfulness of man's probation and the certainty of judgement to come. Along with these he manifested the temper of a warrior, stern and undaunted and enduring: yet one whose smile was eloquent of love, joy, and peace.

The key to the character unlocks also the secret of his mind. The foundation facts of God's Revelation to man were to him facts of eternal life: the inspiration of every hope and all high desire: the master light which guided him unfailingly through the night of gloom to the radiance of perfect day.

CHAPTER IV

HIS STYLE OF WRITING AND PREACHING

A QUESTION arises in regard to most eminent writers as to the reason of their attractiveness to some readers, while to others their very merits seem to be a blemish. Especially is this the case when the subject-matter largely consists of exhortation; for as a general rule exhortation, admonition, and precepts, calling on human beings to lift up their hearts to higher things than the transitory interests of our daily lives, meet with a ready response from a minority only of those to whom they are addressed. That minority consists of persons already aware of their need of uplifting in regard to the graver issues of life, and willing to make a real effort to obey what they feel to be true. Others may feel the truth of the good advice, but shrink always and inevitably from the effort to which they are summoned. These prefer to become critics rather than votaries of the hortatory writing, and the spirit of the criticism is likely to be unfriendly, in proportion as the exhortation comes to them as an upbraiding, and which their consciences tell them is not undeserved.

Any hearer of a sermon who is secretly convicted of insincerity is not unlikely to decry the preacher's style. It is a temporary relief from the prickings of

conscience to point out errors in the diction of a discourse. In this way a preacher like Holland, because his words are powerful and penetrating, is sure to meet with disparagement. We must consider whether it is to any extent justified.

It has often been remarked that he was fond of piling up words, especially adjectives, unnecessarily, so that a string of synonyms is fashioned, spoiling the rhythm of the sentence without adding to the rhetorical force. In reply it is urged that each word is curiously appropriate to its context, and in reality enriched the expression of the writer's thought, especially when he was enforcing some rather unfamiliar, abstract argument. But the most relevant defence of this mannerism has been that the words lead up to a climax: the last word in the series is the strongest, and the preceding are necessary to give it its just value. This is true also, though less obviously to the very frequent sequence of short sentences which are seen to be admirably worded, but which in combination strike the reader at first as excessive, as a kind of verbosity; and yet on consideration are found to be full of thought, and artistically arranged to bring out a particular aspect of truth at their close.

There is, however, another criticism of Holland's way of presenting his message which demands attention. It is that in the pulpit he was difficult to follow; and to any hearer who failed to keep up with the thought, an impression was given of a great enthusiasm in the preacher about a subject which to the audience remained obscure. I remember being told by Dean

Beeching of Norwich, about the year 1905, that the number of the great preacher's votaries had greatly dwindled, though he himself remained as faithful as ever; and occasionally one read a criticism of some preachment which showed that the gravamen was not in the language but in the treatment of the subject-matter and in the manner. It is not difficult to see that this would be the feeling of the less emotional and less responsive among his auditors, at the very time when others more familiar with processes of abstract thought were kindled and encouraged by the joyousness which from beginning to end of every sermon pulsated in the sentences, waked up the ringing tone of the voice, and inspired in his earlier days the quick and eloquent gestures of the arms.

Doubtless most of his sermons made a stiff demand on an ordinary congregation. They postulated far more than a languid interest in divine Revelation. They assumed a certain readiness of love of things true and honourable, just, pure, lovely, and of good report: that latent preference for the good which, though very often quenched by the power of perverted desires, really is in every heart. But more than this. Every sermon, as we read them to-day, is distinguished by a singular loyalty to the principle with which it starts. Something deep is set out at the beginning and worked out faithfully and scrupulously to the close. The logical sense is never violated by illegitimate transitions, irrelevant inferences, or dubious deductions; and considering the astonishing wealth and fertility of each separate theme we stand amazed, not

so much at the exuberant diction or the play of the poet's fancy or the sureness of touch upon the manifold riches of the vision ever unfolding itself before his mind, as upon the subordination of all this to the claims of commonplace facts: with one of which he started, and from which the whole discourse was carefully developed, guided, and drawn out.

If this is so—and an instance or two may be given—it is not difficult to see how a shallow-minded hearer might easily miss the significance of the opening. Granted a little want of attention at first, the experience of many preachers, and it would be hardly possible to understand the reason for Holland's enthusiasm, which in a minute or two overflowed the rich and copious sentences and gave life to the vehement, eager delivery. The key to all this would have been missed, and there is always something baffling, not to say irritating, about a sustained enthusiasm when you do not clearly perceive what it is all about. Hence we may account for strong, indeed violently carping criticisms of unwilling hearers in a church—perhaps drowsy newspaper reporters, mostly not very theologically-minded, even when wide awake, and predisposed to be captious from their hankering to be elsewhere; such listeners, if so they can be called, would be pretty certain, like unalert oarsmen, to 'miss the beginning of the stroke.'

At the same time when he chose to be simple—to describe a scene partly known by his hearers, and then to draw a plain massive inference as to the conduct of the Christian life—nothing could be more bracing,

and—to use a favourite word of his—enheartening. It was at S. Barnabas', Oxford, that he preached on the heroism of the defenders of Rorke's Drift in South Africa, of which struggle the papers were full at the time. The scene-painting was thrilling, enthralling, copious, splendid, and never outside the vision of the least educated shop-girl present. He dwelt on the grim hopelessness of the scene and of the men's determination not to give in; on the strong probability that it would end in nothing but just a paragraph in a newspaper or two, then the night of oblivion. 'That was the kind of dull, dismal thing they felt they were in for when they made up their minds to stand and die.' From this the preacher drew a fine kindling appeal that we should face the odds, counting the cost of the surrender to Christ in buoyant confidence that it was 'not in vain in the Lord.' The theme exactly suited the temperamental rush of words and exaltation of spirit which began to be expressed at once from the start and continued to the very end.

It is not unlikely that some readers will find a slight cause of annoyance in this very fact—that the enthusiasm of utterance began often with the very opening words, before the congregation had any idea what the subject of the discourse was to be. Now Jowett—who was given to comment with real shrewdness on human nature and moral problems—once began a sermon by stating the different motives which induced people to come to church. Among these was mentioned 'the desire for repose.' That diagnosis was sound fifty years ago and still more indisputable to-day.

In times of hustle and restlessness we crave repose : sometimes of body on Sunday mornings; more frequently of mind. Indeed the appetite for a certain tickling of the religious emotions which must not demand any thinking is immensely prevalent.

But if anybody in the hope of indulging that appetite happened to stray into a church where Holland was preaching he would have found himself awkwardly placed. The last thing that was possible in Holland's presence at ordinary times was inertia of mind. When he was in the pulpit possibly some of the congregation achieved the feat of going to sleep or sinking into profound negation of thought. But if so it was a triumph, so to speak, of matter over mind, and the number of such worshippers could never have been large, nor would the seekers after torpor be likely to give the preacher a second chance if they could help it.

Yet it is very noticeable that his teaching in his sermons as a rule is simple, in that it generally starts from the concrete, or from some universal human experience. He did not rely on secret mystic hours of communion with God, though in several passages he indicates how thoroughly he must have probed into the tyranny and terror of sin.

It is in truth something of a snare to those who try to estimate the value of his sermons, that over-fastidiousness is offended by the rhetoric; and we are inclined to plead this as an excuse for ignoring his teaching. But all the time what offends us is not the form of expression but the matter expressed. No expounder

of the Gospel known to us has a firmer grasp of the teaching of the Cross, and of the keen, searching, agonizing demand it makes personally on every one of the followers of the Lord. What is incumbent on every reader of these discourses, as on all who form the congregations of to-day, is to think less of the form into which a message is cast and more, much more, of the message itself; to rate it not according to its attractiveness but its truth; and, if it is found to be so exacting and austere as to be unpalatable, to recognize the unvarying tone of the New Testament no less than of the Old. Blake said, 'No truth that is intelligibly taught is disbelieved.' Why then is it often repudiated? Because it is often disliked.

A good illustration of his method may be found in the three sermons (in *Creeds and Critics*) on the Church in its manifold aspects. Beginning with the narrative of S. John he traces in large lines the formation of the little Society distinct from the outer world.[1]

[1] If objection is taken to the Johannine story the reader should first see what Holland taught in what is perhaps the most masterly of all his utterances—the volume entitled *The Fourth Gospel*. To many readers his reasoning seems to close the question for good and all. But scholars who have ransacked the evidence for years; specialists who are academicians with 'unbiassed' minds, are not likely to be easily swayed by a writer who could give no warrant of specialization: of the midnight oil: of tabular analysis: and painful logic and cool, detached inference. Holland is never cool and detached. He burns with sympathy for his hearers, and never loses consciousness of what is at stake. Again, a great Roman Catholic theologian, von Hügel, resting his whole confidence in the Fourth Gospel on the sanction of the Church, was prepared to renounce the Johannine authorship as immaterial. Certainly if any critic can persuade himself that a nameless seer of the second century invented the narratives and forged the immortal

It is advisable for us to see as clearly as we may the bearing of this question as to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. First we must remind ourselves of its distinctive character. In a suggestive article in the *Hibbert Journal*, Professor Jacks emphasizes the characteristic of the Gospel records: viz. that unless the spiritual, or what is ordinarily termed the supernatural, interpretation of the Person and Work of Christ had been dominant in the minds of the writers, the records would have been cast in a totally different mould from that with which we are all familiar. They do not attempt what we call a biography; the omissions, the ignoring of unanswered questions and of matters of the utmost human interest, forbid the supposition that any one of the four writers had the slightest idea of satisfying ordinary curiosity as to what Jesus did; but give what they conceive to be important antecedents leading up to the Passion, Death, and Resurrection; which events again cannot be looked at as the Evangelists saw them except in a certain spiritual focus. The first three Gospels fall into this category, but give the spiritual view entangled, so to speak, with historical fact. The Fourth Gospel has been thought to treat the facts as wholly subordinate to the mystical interpretation. Such facts as are given are narrated in close conjunction with a discourse following; and it has been assumed in many quarters that the writer was so preoccupied with the

discourses, he should reflect on the fact of the Church's acceptance and what it signifies of the prevailing idea of Christ. The warrant of its truth lies here: not on the constraining authority of an Apostle.

divine side of the events that he ceases to be a trustworthy teller of the story. His evidence, therefore, as to what happened loses all value; it becomes a mere setting for spiritual teaching—dogma as it is crudely called—not unlike the Apostolic Epistles which hardly allude to the actions of the Hero of the drama, but only emphasize the power and reality of His spiritual presence after the Resurrection, and the closeness of His union with the Catholic Church, His Body.

Some such estimate may be thought to be the natural outcome of the theory that the Fourth Gospel was written by an unknown scribe in the second century; who, being far removed from the actual occurrences, could not be expected to be accurate and detailed; he would be sure to deal with facts uncertainly, as if they were evanescent and misty to his view, and therefore he would betray a want of interest in them, being by his very genius and temperament absorbed in the mystical.

Holland riddles this theory through and through with convincing force. Before his book, *The Fourth Gospel*, appeared we knew that many scholars admitted the author to be singularly alive to fact and the concrete; that no record was more charged with evidence as to Christ's manhood, however much the writer may have been awed in contemplation of His Godhead. But Holland develops this side of the matter with astonishing vigour and freshness, and for many readers he makes it for ever impossible to conceive of the Evangelist as a dreamy, detached person infected with cloudy Gnosticism and Oriental imaginings. On the

contrary he reveals himself as profoundly in touch with facts, which after many years he cannot forget because of his thrilling human interest in them.

This human interest was of course so remarkable in Holland himself that we cease to be surprised at his penetrating insight into the inner temper of the Apostle whom Jesus loved. For, obviously, the more living was the interest of the writer in various small and insignificant occurrences, the more difficult it is to suppose that an unknown creative artist, a supreme religious genius, would have achieved, without leaving a trace of his name or personality, a piece of fiction which, powerfully and for all time, has influenced the whole current of human thought; our hopes, our joys, and our fears.

But there was something far more important than even human interest which has infused a tone of passion into Holland's pleadings on this subject. The foundation of his philosophy may almost be described as loyalty to fact, and not only of his philosophy but of his theology as well. This proposition must be discussed elsewhere. For the moment we may refer to the first sermon in *Logic and Life*, the volume which he said contained the substance of his philosophy. In it he insists on the need of facts if Reason is to 'move towards its place, its fulfilment.' Indeed, with all his sympathy with abstract thinking, it is doubtful if any teacher has more justly combined and co-ordinated the claims of spiritual speculation with those of earthly, human experience; and the importance of his work on S. John will be duly estimated by all who

see in the Fourth Gospel an entirely satisfying conciliation between the Eastern and the Western mind.

But the Gospel is satisfying to us to-day not because the belief that S. John wrote it compels us to subscribe to the doctrine; but because the doctrine, the conciliation of philosophy and science, is in itself a supreme achievement, a real inspiration; and the satisfaction is marred and undermined if we are obliged to attribute anything so deep, so nourishing and unique to a nameless author of whom we know nothing, rather than to the Apostle who drew his ideas from intimacy with Christ; to say nothing of the unrecorded intercourse which he was privileged to hold with the Lord's Mother after the Crucifixion. In the belief that the son of Zebedee is our teacher we find restfulness and harmony. In the opposing hypothesis chaos and contradiction. Nothing can impair the authority of the treatise even for those who cannot accept unquestioningly its formal canonization by the Church. But we desire a theory as to its origin which accounts for its sublime teaching, instead of leaving the history of the Apostolic age in confusion.

Hence the great interest and opportuneness of Holland's book. His mind was in essentials Johannine. He dwelt lovingly on the opening of the Epistle —the burden of which he expanded and reinforced in scores of passages—where the aged Evangelist speaks of the Word of Life ' which we have seen and heard and handled,' and it must have been a joy to him to pass it on to others as a message deeply and personally apprehended by himself, ' that their joy may be full.'

The discussion of this question, moreover, is perhaps the best written of all that he published. There is evidence in it of self-restraint, and the diction gains in force and pithiness as it loses in exuberance. In regard to style it would be interesting to compare Holland with a very great writer in the middle of last century, for whom he had a deep admiration, J. B. Mozley. Both are distinguished for brilliancy of imagination and originality of thought and powerful logic; but Mozley was quite free from Holland's fault of exuberance. If the opening of his immortal sermon on Nature is studied, the reader soon detects the same play of fancy, each sentence adding something to that which it follows; but undoubtedly Holland spends more words than the older writer, and at the end of a long paragraph has told us sometimes very little more than he might have in half the space. On the other hand his sermons are better constructed than Mozley's as a whole. Mozley's are meditations; rich almost beyond words in depth of thought, imagination, and logical force; but each discourse lacks structure, and as in a symphony of Schubert's, when we get to the end, we cannot quite see why it has not been further prolonged.

Again, the copiousness of the rhetoric offers a salutary challenge to the reader. It is easy to get lost in the concatenation of short sentences which, though often almost tautological, require sustained attention if the close connection with the preceding paragraphs is to be maintained. The flood of words tends to conceal the thread of the argument; but it is amply worth while on reaching the end to go back to the

beginning and retrace the sequence of the thought ; and if that test is applied the sermons will be found to be marked by severely thought-out reasoning and admirable lucidity of arrangement, in balance, proportion, and artistic finish. Probably every weighty discourse ought to be treated in similar fashion; but with such writers as Newman and Church it is difficult not to be persuaded that one has extracted the full meaning after one reading. The fault of Holland's style—and this would be true of a very different exponent, his great contemporary Baron von Hügel—deters the reader from this particular delusion.

An analysis of the sermon alluded to may throw some light not only on the author's style, but on some fundamentals of his thought.

It seems more than probable that he began with the conclusion and worked backwards ; like Euclid, an author in most respects strikingly dissimilar. We should imagine Holland contemplating the familiar truth that each man's deepest, most living convictions are the outcome of his experience; and if they refer to spiritual matters, things that are unseen and eternal, the experience must have been spiritual too. In this discourse the author only advances in his main argument to the threshold of religion, relying on the kind of experience afforded by a sense of remorse. His thesis being that Reason interprets the past, and thereby gives power of anticipating the future.

The following is a brief analysis. All things are perpetually changing, but the process escapes our notice till we abruptly note the result. Markedly is

this the case with our conception of Reason. It used to be looked on as a lifeless tool, working mechanically: forcing on us, often reluctantly, its conclusions. Now we see it to be 'an organ and function . . . a living formation moulded by long and slow efforts' . . . a living, fluid, moving substance . . . so that its action in one man may differ indefinitely from its action in another. (From all this emerges a philosophy of education. If the right kind of knowledge, facts, phenomena are presented to the child he is led to interpret the Universe spiritually, i.e. as the expression of the dominance and control of the Sovereign Creator and Ruler of all.) Thus Reason is most rigid as to its fundamental assumptions: herein being like Science and Politics: all three 'can audaciously refuse the assistance of any logical certainty, without apparently loosening at all the binding power of their appeal' (p. 6).

Thus hard logic and 'high metaphysic' fail to 'make their entry into the substance and fibres of our real life.'

But living, operative Reason works on and transforms experience, furnishing a wholly fresh set of foundations on which anticipations of the future can be built. ('Faith deals with the future.'—R. M. Benson.) It depends for its vital action on experiences old and new, and bears witness to itself by its harmonizing secret and its *advance*: 'It could not have come so far if it had not been on the right road; it must be right because ever in front of it, it discovers the road continuing.'

Hence the vast responsibility for the use, not of an

automatic instrument beyond our control, but of a living and adaptive faculty. It depends on our inner life. 'We must live in no casual contact with spirit, if we ever intend to understand it.' But (p. 12) the efficacy of Reason seems to depend on the experiences having been of a certain sort. Is not this pessimistic? Perhaps it means there must have been *right desire*, from the beginning. Exactly the same law controls its working in science as in metaphysics, etc. Man therefore learns by 'feeding his rational experience with unfailing supplies of supernatural fact' even as 'The Word was with God.' 'Communion with God is the secret of Divine Wisdom. . . . This is the law of intellectual life in its highest conceivable expression. Thought is the power of allying ourselves to facts, our power of acquiring consistency with them, so that the world within corresponds with the world without. It therefore shifts and changes its fashions, its forms, its features and expression according to the nature of the facts before it, according to the shaping of the world with which it deals.' Thus prayer and miracle are witnesses of a 'Power to *change the Present* and *transform the Past*.[1] . . . Reason is satisfied so long as her expectations feel no shock, as her harmony is unbroken: and no such shock . . . disturbs her . . . if the miracle without finds an effective response in the daily miracle within. (Γνῶθι σεαυτόν.) Thus God Himself can only seem a rational solution to those who live in constant contact with the problems which His existence solves.'

[1] cf. G. K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 87 sqq.

In the above one can trace the workings of the mind of a man of prayer. Prayer deepens the desire and quickens the hope for eternal life, and draws down fresh infusions of it which enlighten the understanding as well as quicken the will. Holland resolutely faced the ' spectre of the mind,' the doubt whether the faculty so enlightened could be called by the name Reason. ' Impelled by an emotion so powerful and so different from logic, must it not be something else than the coldly pronouncing utterance to which our ears are attuned? No. It is the same faculty and works in exactly the same way. This is conceded by every one who grasps the identity between scientific and religious reasoning. In both cases there is the spiritual experience which has to be interpreted and used spiritually, and the interpretation yields certitude in each case.' [1]

It is probable that many readers of these philosophical sermons of Holland's will feel that he is dealing with difficulties alien from ordinary minds and confined to the select circle of academicians trained to speculation, familiar with the trend of what is called scientific thought, or anyhow with recent scientific discoveries. Can it, moreover, be said that such doctrine as that presented in the above meagre outline could be of help to the multitude, whose difficulty is not the question whether Reason works in this way or in that, but in the prevailing incapacity to apprehend even faintly what is meant by communion with God ; by the unseen world; by this life being a probation for

[1] cf. Lord Balfour and G. K. Chesterton.

eternity, and many other topics congenial to people of a mystical or ecclesiastical temperament?

Before this objection can be considered, we should take note of the simplicity of the main thesis, and the closeness of its connection with widespread opinions. Holland's statement of evidence in support of his contention is doubtless difficult to appraise; but the contention, if it comes to be accepted among thinking men, will make all the difference to the attitude of mind of every thoughtful boy and girl who is trying to interpret this human life of ours. Our generation is steeped still in the notion that there is some fundamental divergence between the scientific and the religious mind; the notion having gained enormously in popularity since the days of Darwin. It is certain that opinions differ, and always have differed, as to the influence of the uncertainty reigning in many minds between the claims of the intellect and of faith; and thousands of inquirers, who are very far from being philosophers or even thoughtful people, are deterred from looking their perplexities squarely in the face by the vague belief that the majority of the cleverest people in the country despair of any conciliation between the two movements of human thought.

It may be true that Christian philosophers have attained to a serener clime in their upward journey, but the supposed contradiction between the two greatest of man's faculties is undoubtedly a cause of perplexity and dismay among many who never heard of Darwin, Haeckel, or Huxley: and among many others who are quite unable to grasp what those

thinkers strove to teach or what their critics had to urge against them. It takes, so it is said, fifty years for speculative difficulties to filter down from the philosopher's study to the market-place; and it seems as if, when among thinkers any particular problem has been in a way solved, the unlearned are just coming to believe that it is insoluble.

In other words, if it could be seen to be true that our Reason acts according to the same law in religion as in Science, Politics, and Art, a great advance in clearness of thought and in breadth of theological perspective would undoubtedly be gained. That is what other thinkers besides Holland have taught: no one with more persuasive power than Lord Balfour; but Holland brought to the publication of the thesis a wealth of conviction, enthusiasm, and zeal which goes far to make his readers feel that there was in his mind a certitude on this subject which no arguments could undermine or even weaken. The passion with which he flung forth his theory of the truth was kindled by his knowledge of the inward peace and mental sanity which it cannot fail to bring.

Hence it is no trivial dialectical conceit, no plausible and attractive originality, quip, or innovation with which our author is concerned. Like Dean Church, whom he worked with and greatly admired, the truth was to him, as Christ stated it, a liberating power; in fact in one aspect eternal life itself. It was the sense of its awfulness as well as of its sweetness, the imperiousness of its claim as well as the harmony of its tone, that constrain him to appeal mightily and with an urgency

that will not be stifled to his fellow men. For he knew they were for the most part 'in darkness lost, the darkness of the grave'; and his message is that of Zechariah: 'turn ye to the stronghold ye prisoners of hope.' It was the intense and unfailing sympathy felt by this brilliant and highly-gifted man for the most commonplace of his brethren that accounts for the exuberance of the style, and reminds us that though we have here an inartistic lapse from the purity and self-restraint of the writers we call classical, it is a blemish we can readily excuse even though it stirs us often to a mild irritation; for it is the expression of two very sublime qualities in the preacher: a passionate love of his own kind; and a profound belief in the vital importance to us all of thinking rightly about God.

It is advisable, before we form an estimate of his powers as a prophet and a guide to his generation, to look attentively through another of his sermons in the same volume; the third in which he tears to tatters the meaningless epigram of Renan's: 'A man who would write the history of a religion must believe it no longer, but must have believed it once.' It is the kind of remark on a great sacred subject which we English instinctively mistrust. To the French the neatness, the pith, and lucidity of the literary expression is such a commendation of the remark that any suspicion they may harbour as to its truth is not allowed to weaken their admiration or to stay their assent. Fortunately, perhaps, for us our literary perception is too dull to throw any glamour over an interpretation of life which we dimly perceive is rather absurd.

Now Holland—as was often remarked—shunned controversy. Perhaps the only instances to the contrary are the exposure in this sermon of Renan's fatuity, and in *The Fourth Gospel* his argument against von Soden. Here especially he shows that when he chose he could be as forcible in analysis of faulty logic as in exposition of truth.

He begins with the pertinent questions. To be historians of religion, 'Can we believe experimentally merely for the purpose of discovery? Can we be certain of being able to cease from our belief at the moment at which we propose to begin our critical examination?' Again, 'Is [the change] a matter of regret or victory?' Renan also bids us cherish the brave and beautiful defiance which the religions have hurled at the inevitable doom of death: but does the beauty of the dream lie in our knowledge that it will vanish away? Thence Holland passes to the more poetical reflection on the luxurious idealization of defunct feelings and ideas in the past, congenial to our infirm spirits because it brings with it no sense of responsibility: there is a fascination for us in these faded ideals, in the very fact of their deadness: for they utter no challenge, no demand, and so suit well our spiritual languor. Moreover, we can lightly, dreamily, supinely, pass from one 'sweet vision' to another. 'We are free from all because we can criticize them all: but then do we really think that we know what they meant to the men who pursued them?'

This picture shows us Renan's formula as the

description of a nightmare. Clearly, however, there is another line of criticism, to exhibit which Holland summons up his whole spiritual experience, in so far as it can be put into words. For he delineates for his readers with inexhaustible freshness and force what is the vast complexity of the theme which Renan handles as if it were an interesting excuse for killing time. For the theme is the finding, by human souls, of eternal life.

Reason finds its justification in its power to disclose and rationalize the working of Faith. Man comes to himself in both fields; he is the same being in each, and unites the two inevitably; anyhow the parallelism between them is real and true. 'Any process of reasoning, therefore, any structure of thought, is only really intelligible to him when it conveys to him something more than it actually says.' Its task is to 'attempt a critical portrayal of a spiritual faith.'

We are now out of earshot of the level on which Renan moved. Holland's doctrine, indeed, may sound to some too subtle to be convincing. I believe, however, that the account Dr. Cairnes of Edinburgh gave some time ago of Lord Kelvin's method of scientific discovery will illustrate his meaning. If I remember right it was as follows: Certain phenomena in the chemical world having attracted his attention he would ponder on them for many weeks, feeling sure all the time that they gave promise of forming the basis of some valuable generalization; some law which would link them together and explain them. In due time this law would flash into his head, and full of the joy

of discovery he would triumphantly expound his thought to his two collaborateurs, one being Professor Tait. To them, however, he left the task of spelling out the intermediate steps, but would add the remarkable caution: 'if your reasoning leads to any other conclusion than that which I have given you, you will be wrong, and must begin again; because I am certain I am right.'

Now if this account of Kelvin's method of discovery is correct, we have here a spiritual activity which, according to Holland, Reason is called upon to criticize, explain, and justify. It is to be noticed that the certitude which Kelvin expressed was of the very essence of faith: the reward of a passionate and pertinacious desire to get at a truth the bare existence of which, at the start of the whole process, was quite incapable of logical proof. Equally incapable, too, of proof, and independent of it, was the conclusion; and yet the great investigator had such a burning conviction of the rationality of the universe that he could summon Reason to justify his own faith in that rationality.

Now the rationalizing of even this one instance of scientific faith would be for Reason a most subtle, deep, and delicate task. But Holland expands the subject out into a far ampler horizon by showing, from Art's appeal to our emotions, how stupendous and manifold and aspiring into uncharted regions the human emotions are. He takes music as his example, and in a passage of gorgeous rhetoric portrays the intricacy and subtlety of a great orchestra's appeal to the listeners; but insists meantime that 'still we have it in

us . . . to be all that the music can ever tell ': so vast and manifold is 'the play and motion and variation of that spiritual stuff which makes our original and essential life.'

The literature of a people tells the same tale ; and the passage concludes with a beautiful statement of the 'power, fullness, and depth of the supreme spiritual movement in which the entire man, . . . summoning the whole body of emotional impulses to his succour, throws himself forward with indomitable devotion, with unutterable effort, into the arms of God.'

Then follows a highly-wrought, most imaginative passage in which he describes the reaching out of the soul as it passes beyond the fleshly limits into the mystery of the unseen, and finds in its ecstasy the knowledge which in that dim but glorious region becomes 'steady, certain, and permanent.' This is religion ; and it is inevitable that as the whole man is concerned in it, Reason, 'part and parcel of that wholeness which is the man, should have its say about that action . . . in which it has already borne its share.'

To the question which arises at this point as to the relation between Faith and Reason Holland gives the following answer. 'It is not from outside or incidentally that thought touches the works of faith: it penetrates the whole mass: it is woven into the fabric itself: it is inherent in the structure, in the constitution, in the material. Its office is to disclose this its pre-existent presence ; to unfold its secret prevalence. . . .'

It may be doubted whether this difficult metaphorical statement quite agrees with the passage above which speaks of a parallelism and an equivalence between Faith and Reason; but probably the discrepancy is more in the metaphor than in the idea. The conclusion, however, is simple and familiar. 'Such a work can only be attempted with success by those whose reason has at least once enjoyed a living and energetic contact with that which it proposes to unravel.' Does this concede Renan's point? Not at all. He continues: 'No wonder, perhaps, if it should be found impossible to ensure positive advance unless this contact be still preserved fresh and effective and inspiring.'

More nails in Renan's coffin; then he asks, 'Does this mean that no religious criticism is possible except in those in full belief?' Certainly not. Much valuable witness of a historical kind has been borne by specialists. But when we come to the real, fruitful, historical criticism we must insist on the condition that all turns on the writer's 'capacity of vivid and experimental insight into the nature of those Presences and Powers, whose effects he is measuring and whose significance he professes to declare.'

Here we get some answer to the familiar question, 'Why do we read history?' Namely that history reveals mankind's answer to God's self-revelation and God's way of dealing with the answer. This is formally a refutation of Renan and quite unanswerable; but a nobler refutation is in the lofty thesis that Reason works most rationally, most effectively and fruitfully the more it partakes of the life of Faith itself. Such

life cannot pass away and leave a judicial, languid interest behind;

> For it is heavenly-born and cannot die,
> Being a parcel of the purest sky.

Compared with this teaching Renan's formula sounds like the mumbling of a half-dead mind in a lower world.

CHAPTER V

A SAMPLE OF THE TEACHING

IT has been very truly remarked of Holland that he looked at things in an unexpected way. This characteristic is found in many great writers and thinkers, and indeed to some extent in all. But there is one condition which must be fulfilled by any one gifted with what we call originality: there must be no self-display; there must be no quest of originality for its own sake: else all greatness is forfeited, and, moreover, the utterance loses all its power.

Other qualities are demanded of a positive kind; and among them what we call 'freshness'; that is, in the handling of familiar topics there must be a sense of something new. But if the novelty is strained, or fanciful or unwarranted, it is found to be of no account.

Holland's power in respect of these two requirements is most striking, however true it be that any reader of his sermons would certainly miss it if he allowed himself even intermittently to lapse into listlessness or expected to imbibe instruction without vigorous co-operation. An excellent instance may be found in the very brilliant discourse in the volume *Facts of the Faith*, entitled 'The Child Heart that Conquers.'

Childhood is a theme written and talked about nowadays to the point of satiety; and after descanting

upon the charm and spell of children we have cheered on the psychologists to their unpromising task of ascertaining the laws of the child's mental growth. But among all the babel of voices there is not one which has selected the two points on which Holland dwells with loving insistence and appealing sympathy. In the first place he goes right back, as usual, to the plain teaching of the Church, and notes, we believe for the first time, the singular combination devised by the compilers of the Prayer Book of the Epistle and Gospel for Michaelmas: the first being the grim and mysterious mention of the war in heaven. 'God must at all costs shake off the coils of evil. Heaven must be cleared of blame.' 'At the head of tossing banners and heaving ranks and rushing armies there gleams the helmet of Michael.' The second is the tender picture of Christ setting a little child in the midst of the excited, eager Apostles, bandying words with each other on the absorbing question of precedence in the new kingdom. In the second place the preacher selects among the qualities of childhood, its freedom from rigidity of mind: from the habit of looking on growth as ended: from the bane in short of middle age which shows itself in fixity of outlook, and shortness of vision, and tendency to say, 'It is enough.' The child anticipates no limitations: is not dumbfounded at any expansion. He cannot help being a messenger of hope; for his essential characteristic is growth, and he cannot help looking forward and upward. Endlessly suggestive is the treatment of this point of view.

Still further when our author combines the Epistle

and Gospel in striking words, 'Unless we have the child's heart we may not dare to wax bold in the cause of the Lord.' Only the mind of the child can wield the sword of Michael. Thence he passes to a most interesting verdict on Thomas Carlyle, recalling what mid-Victorian England owed to his fiery denunciations and shattering of our self-complacency. Yet Holland recognized quite clearly the great gaps in his teaching, and (as a rare instance of judging) he points out the clue to the secret: 'Carlyle had not won the spiritual and moral height from which alone it is lawful to hurl God's thunder down.'

CHAPTER VI

ZEAL FOR SOCIAL REFORM

TO Holland's immense activities as a preacher of the fundamentals of Christianity, as a lecturer and a journalist, was added an unceasing output of warning and exhortation to the country as to the need of Social Reform. In numberless platforms and in the *Commonwealth* he poured out a stream of suggestions, criticisms, encouragement; and kept up to some extent with the increasing volume of contemporary literature on the many subjects involved. He had all the equipment for a firstrate journalist, and for many years the magazine which he edited was of rare and sustained excellence. Nevertheless, it never became popular, and it is a fact, difficult to explain and even to believe, that its circulation was never satisfactory till after the death of its brilliant editor.

Probably many were affected by the rumour of something like Socialism in Holland's general attitude towards Labour questions; and before we try to form an estimate of the value of his contributions it would be well to consider the peculiar and subtle difficulty with which any earnest writer or worker in the field of social reform is bound to be confronted, in times of complex civilization.

It becomes evident to any investigator of modern

problems in international relations or of industrial strife, or again of the external conditions under which millions of men and women are compelled to live and work, that many of the remedies proposed and for a time vigorously advocated are either plainly impracticable or certain to make matters worse as soon as they are put into operation. Moreover, it very often happens that such remedies are noisily put forward by good people who are ignorant of the working of the machine; and it is supposed that those of their critics who have to do with the working of the machine are the only people alive who could propose a sound remedy. This belief holds its ground in spite of the growing reluctance of persons engaged in trade to put out any comprehensive programme of reform. In other words, those who are most competent to judge are realizing that the problems facing us are too complex for any human brain. Or from a different point of view we reach a similar conclusion when we discern that the radical mischief everywhere is human selfishness ramifying far and wide, and we stand aghast at the prevalence and power of our own wrong-headedness, knowing that the only hope is in some complete change in our methods of education, but wholly unable to say what the change should be or who is to begin it.

For at this point a fresh difficulty starts up. In many districts the parson seems the most natural man to take the lead. He is probably more zealous than others, and sometimes is the only person available educated enough to understand the conditions of the problem. But is he to renounce the ' teaching of the

Word of God and serve tables'? Ringing in his ears is the one great social precept of Christ, 'Go ye and teach,' and that task which must not be foregone seems incompatible with the other. Moreover, if, as often happens, he plunges into the jungle and meets with a certain measure of success, every one is willing to leave the whole reform to him. So he slaves away for five or ten years, is then promoted to an archdeaconry and leaves the citizens unshepherded and helpless as children, for they have had no real share in the work and are quite untrained and can only pretend to be competent.

Such are some of our perplexities. What was Holland's message?

Two Prefaces are illuminative in this connection: (1) to the group of sermons called *Lombard Street in Lent*; and (2) to the volume of his own sermons called *God's City*. In these he points out that the difficulties of the situation were largely (in 1860 *circ.*) the outcome of Individualism and the hard logic of the Political Economists: and the chief forces working for truth and goodwill, T. H. Green and John Ruskin. So far (1). But there had been in the minds of men the great, spiritual, Catholic idea of the Church stated in (2), i.e. the corporate presentation of the fact of the Incarnation. If the divine event was a fact it must show itself in human life transformed. If the truth was committed to a Society, there is still the obligation on the Society to spread it as its first work in life: by words and deeds: by thought and action. Hence the command to teach involved the further com-

mand to *act so as to teach*. Teaching without acting is an impoverished effort; but acting without thinking is being, at best, a machine: at worst, a mischievous machine. That is our great danger when we feverishly exert ourselves without knowing why.

Then comes the challenge to our preachers and writers to say Why. The multitudes wish to be shown afresh (*a*) why the doctrine of the Incarnation and the Church involve practical action at all? (*b*) What action? Let us note meantime the danger of our answering (*b*) merely in terms of tinkering with some sore place from a purely mundane, selfish motive. For our own sakes we hope to see the world cleaner and less odoriferous and restless; but if we strive from temporal reasons only we shall blunder in vain, as we mostly have done in the past.

(*a*) In trying to answer this question we cannot do better than recapture the principle from which Holland started: the bearing on our lives of the Incarnation of Christ. It will be found to be a conciliation of purposes often supposed to be antithetical: i.e. the teaching of the Gospel and the practical readjustments of social conditions. The Incarnation and the divine actions that followed down to the Day of Pentecost revealed the truth that the Creator of this chequered world is engaged not only in raising our standard of moral effort and good conduct, but that He does so by imparting eternal life to mankind through the Society of believers in the God-Man whom we worship as Christ. This imparting, however, is not an inevitable, mechanical process involving nothing more than a

grateful acceptance on man's part, but it demands from us vigorous, incessant, costly, and hopeful co-operation with the Holy Spirit. If that co-operation languishes and man is drawn off to other quests, God's gift is stayed, checked, and in danger of being lost : were it not that we have His promise that the Society to which the gift is offered, and within whose hearts It is lodged, will never perish or be destroyed.

At this point it is necessary again to note carefully the two courses that are open. Let us imagine ourselves in Holland's position, profoundly convinced that the doctrine of the Church being supernaturally gifted, God Himself indwelling in the hearts of its members, is a living fact: that in the strength of the indwelling Spirit we can interpret the Lord's doings as the actual imparting of life to mankind; must we not then feel the powerful constraint upon us to spread the knowledge of the saving truth and let it work its beneficent effect far and wide ? We should then understand how it was that our Lord gave only one social precept to His followers, namely, to teach; for abundant evidence goes to show that before any beneficial reform of human institutions can take place, a change of temper among all the civilized nations must operate on our relation to each other, and among the different groups within each single country; further, that that change cannot possibly be brought about except by a deepened realization of our relation to God. This can only be effected by teaching. So far our primary duty is made clear before our face.

(*b*) But obviously Holland was not satisfied with

this programme, however close and vital was his hold on the doctrines with which we are concerned. No one had a stronger conviction of the educative demand made upon the Church, but he threw himself with unexampled energy into finding an answer to the challenge of 'the deep sighing of the poor,' the stunting of millions of lives, and the ravages committed in the name of national patriotism; and also into the task of piercing the consciences of many thousands of well-to-do persons who were prepared to acquiesce in the *status quo*, partly because they shrank from the sacrifice which any drastic reform seemed to entail: partly because, ready though a minority of them might be, it was literally true they did not know what ought to be done: every course being apparently blocked by insuperable obstacles, or threatening far greater perils than those which they sought to avoid.

First, he avoided the familiar snare of clamouring for readjustments which are so Utopian as to provoke the derision of all level-headed men of business, who come to hear of them. This was because he confined himself almost entirely to appealing to the conscience of the community, leaving it to men of more special knowledge to propose the practical changes, the application of the generally-received principles, which he poured out incessantly and with unfailing eloquence from the pulpit and in the pages of the magazine.

Now, what are these principles? If they are true, our solid citizens wish to be told them, and then by actualizing them in their several neighbourhoods to

bring about something a little more like the kingdom of heaven.

Perhaps they can be conveniently summed up by the formula nowadays very frequently repeated that what we want is a 'new spirit': a spirit of brotherly readiness to give and take: to co-operate: to see with others' eyes: to understand the mentality of foreigners, and so on. From all sides we hear the same story, viz. that all our new machinery for social and international readjustment depends on this new spirit. Selfishness of individual groups and nations, along with mutual suspicion, is the chief obstacle to progress; and a very formidable and stubborn obstacle it is found to be.

Holland took up this parable, and for years insisted on it in season and out of season. But he differed from the vast army of patriots and philanthropists in that he showed how Christianity gave answer to the question: How is this new spirit to be gained? He was possessed and inspired by the belief in the Holy Spirit's Presence in our hearts, and His power to act depending on the strength and genuineness of men's desire. His view of life was throughout supernatural: that is to say, whatever good is done on earth is done by God, but that man prevents God from acting for our salvation if he is acquiescent in all the heart-rending facts of life which manifest the grip still maintained on the world by the kingdom of evil.

Thus Holland never failed to insist that modern evils were a challenge to society; but by society he meant the Church. At one time he seemed to be so steeped in the sense of the individual soul-drama that

any really spiritual Evangelical would have heard his deepest aspirations uttered by the preacher in perfect sympathy and with the understanding born of experience. But before long the same eloquent voice would set forth the claim of the undeniable fact that our Lord began His work of the redemption of man by selecting a group of followers from the multitude, trained in the religion of Abraham, Moses, and Isaiah. God's purpose clearly is to raise the level of human effort and desire through a divinely quickened and guided community of men and women.

Is that, then, simply the oft-repeated call to the Church to be up and doing and lead the way in social reform? Not simply that by any means. Holland had far too fine an historical sense to ignore the difficulty that Christ left the Church to deal with the most intricate problems without a hint of what we call practical guidance. I call this a difficulty for this reason: that while we are considering what to teach and how to teach it practical problems meantime will not brook delay. Such considerations are formidable enough to deter scores of eager workers from the thought of educational principles—at no time congenial—and to make them plunge into the welter of programmes of reform: oblivious of the law that superficial changes have ever proved abortive as long as the deep causes of mischief have remained.

Confronted, then, by such questions as these, Holland never forgot that the most tempting scheme that philanthropists could devise was only to be commended if it exemplified, illustrated, and confirmed the

ethical principles which are based on the eternal facts of God's action. Man does not save the world; for he cannot even begin to wish to save it till God moves him by implanting in his heart right desire. If God is first, then God's action is everything. Man's part is not to act independently of God, or to earn forgiveness by good works; but to grasp the fact that God has redeemed the world and to bear witness to Him.

Hence for any Christian there can be no such thing as social reform independently of this underlying fact; that the world is potentially transformed; and that as that truth is brought home to each heart actual transformation is brought nearer than before. Social reform, then, means making such readjustments as will help man's beclouded heart to welcome the Holy Spirit's work: the work of bringing home to it the ineffable truth of redemption: that is, of quickening him with the new divine life. If it is a fact that God is engaged in transforming the world, then clearly everything depends on man learning to drink in the truth and to live by it.

But did the preacher, then, abjure practical measures and advocate nothing but teaching? Certainly not. He was full of suggestions as to practical reform, but it was never in doubt that his advocacy of any measure or group of measures was a plea for the recognition in action of a principle which was professed by his hearers, but which they had not the courage and clear-sightedness to apply. Take an illustration from his handling of the War-theme.

God is among us as a consuming fire; the God of history is at work.

He takes the material man offers Him, the cruel, bloody War charged with man's sin; refuses to be baffled by it, and forces it to yield Him the fruit of righteousness. So with Calvary. But the Fire which lays hold of the human material, eats away what is intolerable and becomes a Fire of Judgement.

Who can stand when He appeareth? At the critical hour no one stood: they all forsook Him and fled. But Christ, by the might of His unbroken will, forces that which arrives as a curse to be a blessing: this He does by the power of the perfect sacrifice—a Bush that burns with fire and is not consumed. The Cross becomes a Judgement—all men will be sifted by it.

Among the things burnt away will be racial supremacy: forbidden by the Day of Pentecost. This justifies our Japanese alliance. It will require sincerity and courage in us to let the flame do its full work in us.

Also the Fallacies of Force: the hideous sentiment 'My country right or wrong.' Lastly, there are the antagonisms at home. Contrast our vision of England as it might be. Is it the England of those villages whence every able-bodied young man was escaping 'lest his life be stifled'? No, it is the England that Shakespeare loved and Wordsworth hallowed—'the home of liberty and laughter.'

In this sort of writing Holland reveals the foundation of eternal principle on which his political and social creed was founded. How different his lament over the life in the villages from the ordinary talk of the wearing away of our sturdy country-stock and the weakening of the Empire at its core. Holland's test of our social condition was whether the young men found their life stifled. This is a misgiving based on the deep respect for personality taught only by the Incarnation. Again, as regards the terrible Colour question so bewildering to our most thoughtful modern minds, he refrains, as always, from recommending any single practical action, knowing that any such would be abortive and would deepen misunderstandings, till

men came to agree on the feeling for the dignity of every human being.

We should note that this motive for reticence is wholly different from the hesitation of the pamphleteers who know only that they can recommend nothing. If a writer is ignorant of first principles his practical proposals will either be nugatory or wild; sometimes both. In his lecture on Reunion, summarized on p. 175, ff., Holland very clearly illustrates this point. Elsewhere he urges us to look to our 'presuppositions': otherwise agreement on practical reform is but a dream.

It is truly remarkable how philanthropists, politicians, and social workers admit this generalization in theory and reject it in action. As a whole Englishmen do not care to discuss principles, but enjoy wrangling over the unimportant things. Yet history is a melancholy warning against trusting in controversy which ever tends to deal with details.

But Holland's writing on social matters affords guidance in the greatest perplexity of all.

Take the case of slums and overcrowding, or the War, or Armenia. There are two kinds of blunder which we have to avoid, if possible. We may indulge in dreary and detached lamentation : or plunge into putting ill-considered pressure on other groups. The great difficulty in England is that zeal is wasted in premature effort and then, meeting with failure, dies away: or, diffident about our knowledge of conditions, we stop short at the stage of wringing our hands; then —worst of all—slide gradually back into acquiescence.

Our zeal, in short, fails from want of reflection, and our reflection, such as it is, tends to inactivity, lapsing into sloth.

What, then, was Holland's policy? As we have seen, he appealed always to the public conscience, but never insulted the specialist and the expert by encroaching on their territory. Moreover, he spoke throughout as a Churchman to whom the gift of the Holy Spirit to the Society was a vivid and constraining fact. Therefore the first practical step was to found the C.S.U., and in season and out of season to stir up the sluggish, the self-absorbed, and the wilfully ignorant. 'Here are ghastly facts of modern civilization. As long as they continue, they reveal a vast underlying mass of selfishness, though we cannot definitely say who is to blame. They are terribly intricate and baffle our best brains; but the one thing we know about them for certain is that they cannot be left as they are.'

Now this sort of appeal may be criticized by some as ineffective, by others as tiresome. But it is in reality just that which our Lord adopted with the Apostles when they were faced by the problem of the five thousand, besides women and children, suffering from inanition. His command to them, 'Give ye them to eat,' we can see now would have been grotesquely impossible had it not been that the Divine Power was at hand ready to help, to do the wonder, if man would do his part: which was to be stirred by compassion, to offer all that he had, and to obey in *trustfulness* the Master's command, knowing it would not have been

given except for some beneficent outcome. If we are disposed—as we often are—to excuse ourselves for our apathy, there is nothing that we can say except that Christ was present then and is absent now. But that is to deny the whole Christian creed.

Of course this policy of the C.S.U. was widely misunderstood. Some thought its admonitions were too vague; others thought them not vague at all but definitely Socialistic. Holland, however, persisted in the line of advance he had chosen. Like Westcott, he reminded his fellow Churchmen that we must never suppose we are powerless, or forget the presence of the Lord Himself in our community. As soon as that truth is recognized the fog of the situation begins to clear—but it is of no use to hound on the Church to 'do something' when no one can see further than one step in advance.

Why, then, was his writing not more popular? There were reasons, no doubt, too flimsy to be worth discussing. Some people heard it said that Holland was a Socialist without asking themselves what the word meant. The truth is he was stirred to indignation at the hollowness of some of the indictments against 'Socialism'; a hollowness so potent as to show up timid Capitalists determined to keep all they had acquired as long as they could. Even hotter did his emotions boil at the vast army of the lukewarm who, rather than be at pains to grip a new idea, and only longing for a quiet life, opposed passively and tacitly any project of reform, judging rightly that to denounce or argue against a movement is more likely to strengthen

it than the reverse. Holland's way of dealing with the serried and immovable ranks of the enemy was to rouse the conscience of the less stiff-necked by publishing horrors and exposing the futility of many pleas uttered mostly against the Socialists. But he was far too shrewd to identify himself with any large practical programme, no matter by whom advocated. Such sympathy as he may have felt for certain proposals was based on his profound conviction that the nation is under probation, and as long as there is any acquiescence in the glaring evils of our industrial system, we are invoking the divine judgement on ourselves. Not many even of the Radicals were reformers for this reason, and the majority must often have murmured to themselves in the vernacular—

'*Non tali auxilio neque defensoribus istis.*'

Perhaps his general attitude to the War will illustrate his main position in regard to present evils and their meaning. He must have had sympathy with the Pacifists, but his opposition to them was definite and strong, though never based on any opinions which could be called commonplace or superficial. For instance, in 1915 he invites his readers to consider the meaning of the recruiter's appeal to the Dockers : 'come and imperil your lives to save England.'

Most of us, maddened by the news from the Continent, were careful to give the recruiters plenty of rope and wish them God-speed. But Holland, like many of the Jewish prophets, saw in a moment a chance of driving a great lesson deeper into people's hearts. What memories in the Docker's breast are

evoked as soon as he hears the word England or Country? In other words, what has been his environment from childhood onwards; for according to that environment so, naturally, will be his patriotism. Then follows a just, sympathetic, vivid picture of the uncertainty of the home training, an idealized mention of the elementary school, then the grievous 'axe' descending at fourteen—the limit of the school age—and the chaos that followed, blind alleys, casual jobs, chance companionship, aimlessness, bewilderment, just when the essential need was for a reasonable, hopeful interpretation of life, discipline, sympathy, guidance. This Holland touches on without bitterness, but as a reminder of judgement to come. How had we the heart to call on the young men to save England whose memories were charged with so much of criminal neglect? How splendid the material of character of these boys we learnt day by day. But how appalling is the thought of the little we have done to foster it: to lead it on: to enlighten it: to teach them the meaning of the Gospel of Christ. The whole passage is a noble, fervid appeal to his countrymen to recognize that our neglect of our adolescents is a neglect of the finest opportunity ever presented to man.

But Holland, though his heart was torn with the thought of ruined boyhood, and the fair promise of our young men marred by our coldness and apathy, never clamoured for Continuation Schools, or for the extension of school age to sixteen, or for any measure of the sort. Not that he opposed them. He knew that if the country could desire and then gain the new

spirit, the evil would be attacked in earnest, and deliverance would come. He based his appeal, as always, on what we owe to each other as members of God's Family and Household. The violation of this principle is what makes the situation intolerable: not the peril to society, but the refusal to fulfil the Law of Christ. In refraining from practical proposals he taught his readers that the most practical reform to aim at is to get men to see what is at stake: what is the vital issue: for without this, not only do our re-adjustments end in futility, but we make it impossible for our Creator Himself to work salvation.

Doubtless he showed himself now and again favourable to some projects which candid critics, thoroughly Christian in their outlook, found themselves unable to support. But, as a rule, he insisted on the grand principle that when there is a tangled knot to be untied; when all progress is barred by suspicion and soreness of heart and rasping memories, then it is more than ever essential that the presuppositions with which men approach the subject should be probed and patiently weighed before any hope of advance and concord can be entertained. For the blurring effect of prejudice and the poisonous working of rancidities of thought, he was more inclined to blame the so-called educated classes than the working man. However just his censures were, it is easy to see that they would hardly tend to propitiate the very class of readers for whom the *Commonwealth* was written. But the penetration of his insight and the astonishing grip of the connection between Christian dogma and the imme-

diate problem which was being discussed in random fashion by the newspapers, give a tone and distinction to many of Holland's editorial notes such as we should seek in vain in any other writings of the kind.

The question which has been partly answered above as to whether Churchmen should work practically for social reform or restrict their energies to teaching the Gospel was dealt with by von Hügel in the *Church Quarterly Review*, and Holland quotes the passage with warm approval as showing a unity of two subjects ordinarily treated as antithetical. The phrasing of the great thinker is very striking, but of course not easy to interpret in one reading. The meaning of man's history is the gradual penetration of the divine into the human: according as man labours at making the 'uncompromising transcendence' felt as a gradual and increasing influence, a 'genial dilution' within the struggling and mixed human life as it now is, in the form of an ever 'compromising immanence.' Man's part in this process is twofold: (1) the apprehending and preaching of the ultimate kingdom as abidingly real and final. (2) The seeking out, encouraging, and sustaining of every small, difficult advance in the approximation to the full eventual life and standard.

It is with the utmost difficulty that the Church of Christ attains to the point of holding this double demand in even balance. Our danger in England is that we over-prize the practical activities which for fifty years have been pursued with increasing eagerness: the response to the melancholy record of the

cold-heartedness of our forefathers. Holland's whole attitude should be an effectual antidote to all such shallowness and impetuosity. He shuddered at all acquiescence in evil social conditions; but never, I think, gave support even in the most ephemeral of his utterances to any hasty or ill-considered scheme.

We noted above that there was a suspicion abroad concerning the doctrines uttered by the *Commonwealth* that they wore Socialistic complexion, and the bare rumour of such a mischievous poison was too much for a conventional and conservative public. Nor could the rumour be corrected effectively except by those who read the magazine: and the people who required the correction were those who refused to read anything. So the vicious circle continued. But in the August number, 1910, there is a striking passage stating the hopes with which Holland and his friends had thrown in their lot with Democracy some years before.

> We believed in Democracy because it asserted the vital truth that man can only be saved from within. . . . No one else can do it for him. His own self must come into play. His own will must act. . . . No outside help can avail, unless, through its vicarious efforts, it can enter inside, and from within, vivify the central side of the redeemed. This is the Christian law of life. . . . God becomes Man, in order that man, by the divine strength, may be evoked to save himself. . . . Democracy declares that you cannot govern a man for his own good from the outside. . . . He himself must be implicated: his own choice must come into it: his own reason must decide: his own desire must be put out. So alone does he win real way. This process will be long and very tedious, but it is what you dreamed; and you must be faithful to its drab fulfilment.

These are words which, if they had been read and considered, could have scattered to the winds the

absurd notion that the Christian Social Union was a Socialistic movement; an attempt to effect such readjustments in the social machine as would bring about a smooth time for everybody, equality of opportunity, and general equilibrium of forces. Holland's aim was to leave no stone unturned in regard to the practical work of readjustment, but steadily and persistently to make it known meantime that, so far from a belief in the Demos meaning the making things easy for it, the belief, if translated into action, would emphasize the unpalatable truth that they were going to be more difficult than ever. In other words, the democratic movement was to inaugurate a recognition on a grand scale that the responsibility for raising the standard of living rested on the shoulder of each single citizen in the land. The 'masses' were called upon to put every shoulder to the wheel.

This was, of course, the very antithesis to the miserable delusion of a commonwealth saved by a shifting of the cranks and pistons of the social machine, which is what many Socialists dream of bringing about by State action; and to accuse Holland of being a Socialist of this sort was a palpable injustice.

Moreover, his teaching, with all its vehemence, its courage, and its importunity, was entirely free from the vice of impatience. In one sense he was impatient. He laboured to make the lukewarm people tremble, because when evil confronts us, the most deadly frame of mind is heedlessness; and if it is charged against him that he failed: that the lukewarm refused and always have refused to tremble; Holland would have

admitted it at once: just as our Lord did again and again. S. Paul, it is true, made Felix tremble. But Felix was not a modern Englishman.

The claim, then, that may be made for Holland's teaching on social work is not that it has been more visibly successful than that of other prophets, but that, like theirs, (1) it was delivered with ever greater confidence the poorer the response seemed to be. (2) It struck a fair balance between the claims of time and eternity ; never being unpractical or visionary in the bad sense, but also never urging a superficial strenuousness; but (3) it assumed throughout that fidelity to principle which we conceive of as abstract would inevitably work out in unanticipated benefits to society; this assumption being based on his deep conviction that the abstract and the concrete are both equally subject to the Creator's Law.

It may well be that disappointment will be felt by some earnest workers, who are overborne by the ever-recurring sense of the complexity of our situation, when they realize that Holland relied on the Church of Christ as the recipient of a supernatural power to remedy our evils. Especially will this be the case when they are told that he refrained from suggesting a definite, practical policy. If that is all his message, is it not something stale and outworn ?

Doubtless there is something familiar and unexciting in the sound of the words. But suppose they convey and reinforce a truth which we secretly acknowledge to be a truth, but which we constantly tend to forget ? We find it easy to disparage the teaching because we

somehow take for granted that it has been tried and proved to be useless. But is this so ?

We should note that there is, in reality, an alternative set before us, the difference between two policies being not visible on the surface but lurking underneath. Both recommend a general effort to secure that a ' new spirit ' be planted in our community : the one group, A, striving to effect this by moral exhortation based on the needs of the situation. The evils must be abolished and there is no other way of doing it. Therefore exhort men to be brotherly and disinterested. The other group, B, whom Holland represents, assume that we all long for the ' new spirit,' but point out that in the divinely founded Society called the Church, the spirit of brotherhood already is quickened and active: for it is God Himself Who works deliverance in proportion as He is recognized and invoked—in short, believed in.

Nor do the group B dissent from group A's policy; but by their belief in the Holy Spirit they bring to it an inexhaustible hope. They do not prescribe narrowly and noisily what ought to be done, except occasionally when they speak as experts, or when, by some felicitous intuition, the public or parliament, feeling the force of some principle which has been trumpeted forth by the prophets, is able to discern the next step and make something of an advance.

That is what happened at the instigation of Wilberforce and Shaftesbury. But those noble-hearted philanthropists would certainly have failed unless there had been first enough response in the country to the

divine call, and enough dread of the judgement which was impending. It is easy to prate about this or that economic doctrine. No doctrine ever yet persuaded men to make a sacrifice. Nothing but the appeal of Calvary, brought home to the human heart by the power of the Holy Spirit, has ever effected that change. The specific work of the Church is to rouse the conscience, the compassion, and the fear of judgement to come. Then only when that has been in some measure achieved is so-called practical reform possible either to discern or to carry through.

Holland's social work was inspired by the conviction that the Almighty is always offering to save mankind ; but nothing can happen as long as it is supposed that the divine Presence makes no particular difference.

For the supernatural facts were to him the beginning and the end of his endeavour. The miseries and the rampant evils are not to be simply attacked and abolished if possible, but they are to be regarded as signals for man to change from the wrong road to the narrow way: not to aim primarily at the collective bettering of this present life, but to vindicate the honour of God by sure surrender to His will; in obedience, often blind but always offered in trustful hope, and by welcoming His approach if He comes in judgement.

CHAPTER VII

HOLLAND'S OPTIMISM

BEFORE entering on an inquiry into the foundations of the unquenchably optimistic spirit with which Holland was believed to be charged, we should do well to make as clear as possible the sense in which the expression is used. His detractors had a notion that he was by temperament a remarkably happy man, who could not help interpreting life as a joyous affair if only more people would take up social reform. To fall in with such a caricature of the real man was no doubt easier than to reflect on the meaning of his message. There are also many people strongly predisposed to believe that joyousness of temperament which they find in some other persons is merely a gift of nature, largely physical, which they themselves have been denied. Once this idea has possession of the human mind there is an end to the spirit of thankfulness which our Creator undoubtedly demands of His children.

Some evidence has been given in Chapter II to show that his happiness was not due either to bodily health or outward conditions. It must therefore have been the outcome of a certain interpretation of life and destiny; and it is a matter of no little importance for us all to recognize what this interpretation was.

There is, however, a further consideration to be borne in mind, very simple to state and partly to apprehend; but not easy to comprehend and still less to apply as a living and abiding truth. The great saints in Christian history are all characterized by an attitude towards suffering which shows itself not in a haughty scorn of it as that of the Stoics of old, nor in an attempt to deny its reality—a modern superstition—but in a kind of 'stern joy,' their affections being set more and more steadfastly on the challenge made upon them through their moral or religious sense, or both. They attain to a high degree of that power of S. Paul, of deep sensitiveness combined with the conviction that bodily pain, privations, etc., were hardly worth mentioning while the summons to 'the prize of the high calling in Christ Jesus' could be heard. But to these Christian warriors the same tone of mind in regard to mental sufferings has been out of the question: for they are due almost entirely to the manifestations of the sinfulness of others in the Church community. A glance at 2 Corinthians ii will show what the great Apostle went through on this score. His words are an echo—faint but true—of the imperishable broken phrases breathed out on that moonlit night in Gethsemane.

In the most conspicuous cases, however, of the spiritual Christian giants, the agony of distress caused by evidence of relapse, unfaithfulness, in the members of the Church has never been able to subdue the divine gift of the 'living hope' and the inner fountain of joy. But we seem to see in this double characteristic the

very highest achievement of spiritual growth. In the Great Exemplar Himself the tone of grief at the failure of His teaching has seemed to many nowadays to repress the joy which is indeed but rarely expressed : so that, as is well known, the ideal picture of Jesus as the Man of Sorrows has come to prevail far and wide, especially perhaps among the North-European Teutonic Christians. Yet for the last eighty years in England the reaction against the gloom of Calvinistic teaching has been immensely potent, indeed almost irresistible: insomuch that popular Christianity—to adopt a loose term—generally suggests a view of sin not clearly distinguishable from paganism; one anyhow which is dominated by secular considerations.

Now the question naturally arises in connexion with a personality such as Scott Holland's, which by its buoyancy worked as a tonic on his companions, was or was it not simply the outcome of the *Zeitgeist*? This question will occupy us in another connexion. For the moment, however, I feel sure something of an answer can be drawn from his masterly Romanes Lecture on the *Optimism of Bishop Butler*.

I will attempt, therefore, to summarize the lecture, warning the reader that it is always difficult to summarize any utterance of Holland's, though on first examining his writings one would suppose that by the exuberance of his style he invited a summary. But (1) in this particular treatise the style is far more restrained than usual. (2) No summary could do justice to the writer unless it made clear that characteristic of the lecture which I believe to be its distinctive

merit; viz. the warmth and glow which Holland gives to the doctrine of the *Analogy*: or rather to that doctrine which coincides with his own deepest convictions. There is a good deal of matter in the great work which he ignores. But if the main thesis is as Holland puts it, he deals with his subject most effectively by setting part of Butler's teaching in a focus peculiarly his own and investing it with the importance which other writers—even some of the most favourable—seem unable to appreciate to anything like the same degree.

The question, then, to be determined is how far is Holland's glowing estimate of the *Analogy* in agreement with the version of other eminent critics such as Leslie Stephen, Dr. W. A. Spooner, Dean Church, and Mr. Bagehot?

Something of a digest of the lecture will facilitate a comparison between the respective points of view.

Holland begins with a brief sketch of the Deistic teaching of the time and the mechanical view of the universe. In view of this teaching what was Butler's main contention and the secret of his immense influence? From Bishop Halifax's Preface is quoted the passage from which the germ of Butler's work is derived: 'All things are double one against another: and God hath made nothing imperfect.' Butler's optimism is that of the Wisdom literature, 'Wisdom goeth from end to end and sweetly ordereth all things,' for it gives expression to an unshakable belief in human faculties. Later on Holland endorses Butler's dictum that our ignorance is due not to inadequacy of faculties but to limitations of horizon. 'One thing

establisheth the good of another: and who shall be filled with beholding His glory ? '

Creation follows a *Zeit-motif*. In each new experience there is something familiar. ' Butler's main strength comes out in his exhibition of the familiarities which recur in the working out of the divine purpose wherever you encounter it.' This principle is confirmed by Christ's teaching in parables.

Holland next dissipates the gloom of the conventional interpretation of the *Analogy*, viz. the *tu quoque* : and reaffirms the positive doctrine : that ' the natural and moral world are intimately connected and are parts of one stupendous whole ' (Halifax). This teaching is derived perhaps from Origen. The passage quoted in confirmation is *Analogy* II, iv. 8. From the laboured clauses of the philosopher Holland extracts the inspiration of a poet.

At this point we may pause for a moment to note the immense tribute of respect Holland pays to the thinker from whom he is drawing. On first reading one might easily suppose that he is ignoring or repudiating large parts of the philosopher's message, and only selecting here and there ; we now see that he treats Butler as Wordsworth and Mozley treat Nature. That is, he discerns in the laboured, mechanical, studiedly repressed style the work of a mind on fire within with living and potent truth. The poets know that behind the veil of mechanism, routine, and uniformity there is the ' overmastering ' divine Presence ; fragmentary hints of which are enough for us men to live by. Holland is the only student of Butler who has

detected poetry in the *Analogy*. The question whether this is sound criticism does not concern us here.

Here we come upon Holland's main contention, which he was convinced was Butler's also. He insists on 'the immediate and unquestioned reality of material phenomena and upon the validity of human experience.' These were, so to speak, the outward and visible parts of the sacrament just as real as the 'inward grace.' How comes it that a huge group of thinkers have stoutly asserted the opposite? Perhaps they have been deceived by Butler's use of the word Probability: thinking that he invited us to 'stake our souls on a chance.' He is in popular imagination like 'the respectable, grey-haired, old confederate in the crowd, who induces the bystander to take the odds on the hidden pea.' (This bit of humour, entirely characteristic of Holland, would have been utterly inconceivable in the writings of any of the great Tractarians.) Whereas in fact Butler meant by Probability the certitude of the plain man about the natural world which does not admit of logical proof. Religion requires the same unquestioning practical temper for the successful conduct of ordinary life.

Here we must pause for a moment. Those of us who have dabbled in metaphysics, and have some idea of the amazing acumen of the great philosophers in exploring the *arcana* of the relation between subject and object, between the evidence of the senses and the generalizations of Science, and other grand antinomies of human thought, are surprised to find so philosophical a writer cordially assenting to Butler's

complete independence of metaphysics. It may be believed that both these writers, by their frank reliance on ordinary experience and the common-sense interpretation of it, commend themselves effectively to the English mind which has at all times been impatient of metaphysics. But how far this attitude of Holland's explains the refusal of many eminent critics to number him among the elect of philosophers cannot be considered here. It is, however, a real consolation to those of us who believe, as Aubrey Moore put it, that the only verification of Scientific and Religious assumptions is experience—in other words, that without assuming the order of Nature there would be no such thing as knowledge: and no such thing as Religion without assuming the existence of God—to find that a thinker so eminent as Butler took exactly this same view. We feel now that Holland is not to be put aside as a philosopher because of his acceptance of the common-sense view of the universe.

The lecture continues. God has done certain things. To experience what He has done is Religion. Now if Science is equally obliged to make a vast initial assumption, the inference to be drawn is not that philosophers and men of science are alike wandering in a quagmire of uncertainty, but that the law under which they all alike work, and to which they are subject, is identical, and points towards one object, one goal, one Creator of man's mind, and of the universe of things which corresponds to it.

Butler, says Holland, has an unfortunate way of disguising the hopefulness of his doctrine by depressing

phrases. He uses often the expression ' most imperfectly comprehended ': yet he never allows that the authority both of Reason and Conscience is anything but absolute; the candle of the Lord within us; though it can afford no light where it does not shine nor judge where it has no principles to judge on.

An original remark, as far as I am aware, is published by Holland at this point. *Butler, he insists, draws the limitation of our faculties not from their ignorance but from their knowledge.* This is a very pertinent suggestion in view of modern difficulties. How is it made out ?

The illustration is as follows: We view the universe of ' things ' as a little bit of a picture of which the rest is veiled by a curtain. As no part can be taken in isolation and rightly judged, so out of our incomplete knowledge of the tiny part we learn that we can neither understand nor rightly use the little part without bringing it into relation with the vast whole. This is, of course, an optimistic estimate of human faculties.

Next, remembering Butler's indignation at all airy optimism and moral superficiality, we are arrested by his preaching that the underlying principles of Nature are always working for virtue and against vice. The force for good is there at work; but it is hampered. Set free the moral forces and Paradise would supervene.

The word used by Butler to express this state of things is Probation. A depressing word, if misunderstood, but in reality it speaks the conviction that the world exists for good, not for evil : ' the evil is there, only to be overcome,' by understanding and enduring the suffering which refines.

So the Prophets, and Browning, who achieved ' the incredible feat of putting Butler into verse.'

Meantime Holland credits his author with a sublime answer to the doleful theory of man's insignificance in view of the huge expansions of Science, especially of Astronomy. ' He met the vastness of the physical scheme by disclosing the vastness of the plan of our redemption.' Probation means that in this little corner of the universe we are trained for ' a hereafter which we cannot limit or define.' At every stage of life we are under probation for another, and Religion carries forward the process which Nature has begun.

Then follows the quotation from the *Analogy* which, perhaps for the first time, exhibits not only Butler's greatness of mind but Holland's peculiar genius in interpreting it. Scores of highly-qualified readers have failed to see how lofty the hope and how robust the confidence with which the heavy, grave paragraph is alive and pulsating. At first we suspect that Holland has read too much into the master's words. Yet he is right. The optimism is really contained in Butler's doctrine that the interrelation of things (events, creatures, and actions) here on earth points strongly and invariably towards the connexion of the whole with something immeasurably more vast, more ' incomprehensible.' But notice : Holland girds at the Bishop for heavily insisting that the scheme of things is ' most imperfectly comprehended ': and remarks in explanation that ' the scheme would not be known by us to be imperfect unless we were capable of comprehending it.' Again : ' The stress of the argument is not on

the melancholy fact that we cannot know more but on the kindling truth that we know so much.' (It is doubtful if Holland's rare use of the epigram has not landed him in two inaccuracies here. 'We cannot know more': is that true even of our earthly life? 'that we know so much': but his argument seems to require, as he implies directly after, 'so little' rather than 'so much.')

Here we come upon the paradox that our sense of ignorance is a form of knowledge. Hence Butler, says his interpreter, welcomes the vast increase of difficulties in Revelation as symptomatic of a rise in thought, into a scheme of vaster proportions. 'The part that falls under his comprehension bears a still smaller proportion than ever to the enormous whole.' 'What, then, is the advantage of a Revelation?' 'It is simply the call of God to man to "Come up higher." If man has shown himself faithful in few things, let him have as his reward the responsibility of showing himself faithful in many things.' 'This is the law of all spiritual promotion.'

Again we must pause to note that in expounding this thrilling doctrine of the law of spiritual growth and investing it, as always, with the glow of a living conviction, Holland suggests the question whether Butler has really uttered or implied anything so inspiring as that which is ascribed to him. He has already waved aside the aspersion that Butler's argument is a mere *tu quoque*—i.e. that Deists have no fewer difficulties to meet than Christians—by urging that what he means is an identity of law running through, so to speak, both

worlds: in that they are seen to be the creation of the same Mind. At the point we have reached a far more uplifting interpretation is given, viz. that the increase of perplexities is a sign that we are nearer heaven. Further consideration of the doctrine must be deferred for the present.

The lecturer then points out that Revelation imposes a severer probation than natural religion. New facts carry with them new responsibilities. 'To those that have is more given,' but the cost is greater. 'The vine that brings forth grapes is, for its honour, pruned with the knife, that it may do yet better.' 'Could optimism go further?' Hence 'the main purpose of Revelation is not to answer riddles, . . . but to . . . reinforce . . . the light that already shines. It republishes the verities already held.'

Coupled with this promise is the severe demand of the Law, which tells us that we must continue to persevere, exercising the same moral temper as has been already tested in the narrower frontier. If our confidence has been staggered by the apparent disorder of Nature 'we shall be unequal to the strain of apprehending the Revelation.' For it is given not, as Bagehot supposed, as the help to man's ignorance, but as the reward to his knowledge.

Therefore Revelation is given on the same conditions as natural endowments, as a claim upon man's mental and spiritual faculties, just as the treasures of earth make a demand on his mental and bodily faculties. So 'Butler's strong common sense keeps him true and realistic in this way. He is never on stilts. He enjoys

common things . . . loyal to the actual . . . demanding no exceptional treatment for Religion or Revelation. They work on familiar lines. That is why we believe in them. The very difficulties . . . corroborate our confidence by their familiarity.'

Thus Holland bids a respectful *au revoir* to metaphysics and pins the flag of Experience to his mast, quoting with hearty approval his old friend W. Richmond in the same sense. Butler professes that his certitude is scientifically based 'in the sure value of facts and faculties': a very concrete matter-of-fact interpretation of Wisdom vii and Ecclesiasticus xxxix.

Again, 'Butler would delight in bringing the moral life of humanity into complete accord with the conception of Natural Law which we find in the Wisdom literature.'

Butler never goes beyond the frontiers of empirics. Within these frontiers knowledge is always purposive. On the other hand he gave a universal value to the verdicts of Conscience and Reason whenever these were in possession of the facts. Herein he shows a temper singularly in accord with modern thought, recognizing our 'hesitations and limitations.'

Yet Holland acknowledged that 'success in estimating truth according to the measure of its practical efficiency is won by confining attention to a limited area. . . . It leaves ultimate issues unresolved.' Moreover, he believes that Butler would have expected a challenge to come questioning the validity of the very frontiers which had been assumed; but he regarded his work as belonging to other fields: 'and those

fields are ours and at our very doors.' We must not reject a powerful fellow worker who sets himself resolutely to our particular business : ' who faces all that man is called upon to face, however vast and appalling, . . . and still emerges confident and self-possessed, utterly convinced of the rightness that is at the root of things, . . . possessed of a Vision which never fails him. Into this Vision man is in his measure admitted. . . . Step by step he may rise . . . if only he will learn and not dictate, . . . then the possibilities before him are inexhaustible.' An ever-growing humility is demanded of him, as the glory makes its immensity felt : ' the temper that is given in and through Christ can alone suffice to the attainment of this high knowledge. Reason and Religion are therefore at one : moral and intellectual growth coincide.'

Now what may we learn from this cursory survey of the most brilliant and masterly—as many think—of all Holland's utterances ? As was indicated at the start, we are not engaged in investigating the working of Bishop Butler's mind nor the exact value of the *Analogy* for our day: nor to appraise the justness of Holland's encomium or of his criticism. Our subject is not Butler's mind but Holland's, and the *Analogy* only comes up for consideration here as furnishing, so to speak, an illuminating medium. Holland's estimate of the book, whether justified by the assent of other writers or not; whether one-sided or ill-balanced or hasty or crude or the reverse; tells us the secret of his philosophy and gives the key to his joyousness of

spirit more convincingly and more directly than any other of the writings he has left behind. For the truth is, among the doctrines the Bishop taught, Holland seizes on one only and expounds it with a glowing sympathy, and buttresses it up with a wealth of imagination and fervour of utterance which no other commentator on the *Analogy* has been able or disposed to give. His treatment of the particular doctrine is in form a commendation of the *Analogy* as a valuable item for the authorities to retain in the Oxford honour-course. In itself, and apart from this intention, it is a drawing out into dazzling light of the conclusion towards which the grave, heavy argument converges, constraining our assent, but never kindling our emotions, and concealing, as Holland says, the note of hope and triumph so effectually that scarcely any reader has been able to detect it.

The conclusion in question may be stated in a few sentences from the lecture:

> Butler loathed the airy optimism which would not face the fact. Nevertheless, after solemn survey of the whole tumultuous disarray, he deliberately pronounces that all the positive evidence of the facts declares for the right. . . . The force for good is there, at work ; only it is hampered. . . . It follows that the positive energies of life have only to be redeemed from hindrances in order for the ideal kingdom to be attained. . . . The ideal, therefore, is already ours in germ and tendency. . . . This life has but to be strengthened and released, and it will be fitted for the perfected state hereafter, towards which we are ever moving.

Here is optimism, indeed.

It needs not that this view of life should be laboriously commended to this generation. If it is true it is beyond all others rich in encouragement, edifica-

tion, cheer. It breathes a quick and vivid sympathy with the aspirations of a mind and heart very different from his own, but still large, virile, and simple. If Browning—as Holland testifies—accomplished the ' incredible feat ' of putting Bishop Butler into verse, he himself succeeded in a great undertaking too. He read the *Analogy* not as a laboured appeal to man's logical faculty or an intellectual defence of religion against an alien creed, but as a noble reminder to mankind that the power of God is with us and in us transforming the world. Holland sheds a bright glow upon that in his subject which others have seen only as ' the glimmer of twilight ': and by dint of a creative insight he has set before us the austere, restricted doctrine of the sage, and lo! it rings in our ears with a power of guidance and inspiration.

Herein Holland exhibits the greatness of Butler. Just as critics have drawn manifold and diverse teaching from the work of such giants as Turner or Shakespeare or Aeschylus, of which the authors themselves have been unconscious, so it is instructive to compare the different kinds of estimate given by different writers, each emphasizing some mark of greatness often not noted by the others.

In some cases we find stress is laid on a thesis contained or ascribed to the *Analogy* which a critic like Holland is inclined to repudiate, as far less important than the particular teaching which he himself puts first. Thus Professor C. C. J. Webb in his book, *A Century of Anglican Theology*, singles out as the most prominent tenet in Butler's doctrine just the very

argument which Holland passes by not without some impatience. The Professor's words are: 'A great Anglican, Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham, insisted in his famous *Analogy* on the point that what is generally called Deism—the belief, widely held in his day, that a thoughtful survey of nature might lead to a belief in a wise and good God, unembarrassed by the difficulties which beset the doctrines of historical Christianity—would after all not fulfil its promises just because it ignored the difficulties . . . which would perplex any thoroughgoing seeker after God in the facts of nature, no less than the mysteries of revelation perplexed the inquirer into the doctrines of Christianity.'

Now it should be noticed that the precise point in Butler's teaching which the Professor says he insisted on, the only one selected by him from the *Analogy*, is that which Holland comments on as follows: 'So long as that is all that we see in the *Analogy* we have failed to account for everything that the name of Butler stood for with those whom he most deeply swayed.' Doubtless Professor Webb would reply that he was not concerned with those parts of Butler's teaching which Holland specially selected, and only chose one feature of the *Analogy* as an example of a protest against the rigid rationalism of the age. This plea may be at once admitted; but if the Professor saw eye to eye with Holland as to the main drift of the *Analogy* he would surely have stressed the very points on which Holland waxes so vehement in asserting as the very kernel of the Bishop's message to his generation. Not that Professor Webb was in error: but that rich writing

like the *Analogy* causes different readers to reveal, not only the manifoldness of the original treatise, but the workings of their own minds.

The same remark applies to the careful and judicial estimate of Butler written by Dr. W. A. Spooner, between whom and Holland a very instructive comparison may be drawn. For let us notice: Holland pitches upon one great thesis expounded by Butler, that the facts of life, i.e. man's experience, afford a foundation on which we may base a conviction of a mighty force for good being at work in the world, and only needing man's co-operation to ensure that its victory over evil would be manifest and complete: and of events meantime steadily marching to a glorious end. Dr. Spooner indicates the points in the *Analogy* which seem to him of most value. They are (1) Butler's vindication of the independence of conscience. (2) His sense of personal religion. (3) His fairness and impartiality. (4) His sense of the value of evidence. (5) His realization of the extent of human ignorance.

Now one would expect that a critic who gave his approval to one doctrine of a writer would be less vocal in his praise than another who names at least five characteristic merits of the same writer. Here the contrary is the case. The eulogium which Holland pronounces is glowing and enthusiastic: while Spooner's is quiet, judicially wise, and able, but comparatively unarresting, balanced, and tame. To pass from one to the other is like migrating to another country: and it is difficult to believe that the two judgements are concerned with the same theme.

Exactly the same impression is given when, after finishing the Romanes Lecture, we open the pages of Dean Church's beautifully written essay on Butler. There we are brought in contact with one of the greatest minds of the nineteenth century: one for whose judgement Holland had an almost unbounded admiration, and in whose utterances we recognize not only the stately rhythm and self-restraint of the great classical writers and the delicately trained ear for harmony, but the broad, serene outlook on life and measured balancing of two-sided Truth, suggesting always a soul full of a solemn awe in presence of the mysteries of Revelation; a self-abasement before disclosed Light; a Hope so sublime and living as, in a sense, to terrify while it inspires and uplifts. But this supreme critic cannot be said to see in Butler's argument any such radiant optimism as Holland depicts.

Again, Gladstone, though his *Studies* were written to commend Butler to the present generation and to defend him against such critics as Bagehot, Leslie Stephen, and others, nowhere urges the optimism of his view of the Universe of things as a reason for our attending carefully to his teaching. It is true that he assents to an interesting remark of Lord Chesterfield's, who accepts moral and physical evil in the world as 'fit and right,' in terms reminiscent of Butler: but his assent is given as it were to a detail, a side-issue. In short, it may be said that these favourable critics of the great thinker acknowledge his optimism, but evidently attach immeasurably less importance to it than Holland does in the lecture we are considering.

I would hazard the opinion, then, that Holland, who by temperament and by the whole cast of his philosophy, was in the full sense of the word an optimist, detected in his author's laboured and often sombre paragraphs certain admissions which seemed to him tantamount to a conviction that human history is moving forward under the Creator's guidance to an unspeakably glorious consummation; further, that in the darkest facts of life we may discern conditions essential to the attainment of this end.

It is impossible, indeed, not to surmise that Holland went further than other commentators on the *Analogy* in the direction indicated, not only because he saw a strong affinity in Butler to his own view of life and destiny, but also because whenever he states that view he expresses a kind of rapture: a transport of joyous certitude which is all his own: and which therefore we look for in vain not only in the *Analogy* but in the words of all other critics, even of those who reckon Butler as one of the greatest of English thinkers.

It is easy to believe that Butler himself would have been inclined to disown the encomium to which Holland thinks he is entitled; but, in the first place, that would be true presumably of all the writers of genius, and of all artists in handicraft, music, acting, etc., who in proportion to their greatness remain immovably dissatisfied, no matter how loudly the chorus of panegyric rings in their ears. Secondly, even if the criticism be admitted it hardly concerns us here. Whether Holland attributed or did not attribute more optimism to the *Analogy* than is fairly to be reckoned as part of the

message, it is abundantly clear that he himself interpreted life—that is History, Literature, Art, Nature, all man's hopes and desires, all his joys and all his woes—as the expression of a mighty and manifold Scheme of Salvation, here and now being wrought out by the Almighty Creator of the Universe; and that whithersoever we turn our eyes we are confronted by facts which tell the same tale and bear witness to the same Law: namely, that experiences which to us are horrible, calamitous, and unspeakably tragic are—not sometimes, but—invariably made into instruments for the rescue of His children; stages in the pilgrimage up the Narrow Way; moments in the bearing by each nation and each individual of that particular cross which the Father has appointed in endless and most wonderful variety for each in turn, as the material out of which even now is being woven the crowns of everlasting glory. Never mind just now whether this was Butler's teaching or not—for my part I hold that he implies in quiet phrases as well as in the structure of his main argument all that Holland flings out; passionately eager that we should see what he was allowed to see: should believe what he believed and live on the truth which had set him free: the truth that the world we inhabit is a redeemed place.

Clearly, then, Holland did not learn his optimism from Butler, but having been an optimist since he began to think for himself, he claimed the *Analogy* as his text-book, and insisted that the authority of a great philosophical classic was on his side. But the question for all inquirers into the meaning of life and destiny

is not as to the derivation of this doctrine or its originality but as to its truth. For if it is true, how do we to-day stand ?

Why is it that it is not acclaimed on every side as a counterblast to the many gloomy and cynical interpretations of our social and individual perplexities ? For it should be noticed that our author, wholly unlike all sham optimists, faces squarely and with buoyant courage all facts of experience which are to most of us unspeakably sad and baffling in the grim monotony of their repetition, in their stubbornness and the unmitigated gloom which they seem to cast about our souls. He faces them one by one, and never denies their power: ' fightings within and fears without ' both in himself and in others; in countless passages in his sermons he shows a great depth of insight and sympathy with all forms of failure, debility, and the beginnings of despair. The last reproach any cynic could bring against him would be that he was an optimist because he was ignorant of the dark side of our human life. Why, then, is it that the very teaching which would seem to be most appropriate to the needs of to-day, the perplexities of honest men and women who are striving to do what is right, should fall flat and be in danger of oblivion ?

We must defer the discussion of this weighty question which occurs to every reader of Holland's utterances, and still more inevitably to those who knew him. It can hardly be due to the style alone, even if we concede all that has been said against it. Nor is it clear that people are disposed to traverse the

doctrine. If they are leaving off reading Holland it is not because they are studying Schopenhauer. Some much deeper reason remains to be disclosed.

The truth is, Holland's vocation was to be a witness of that which he saw: namely, the working of God among mankind *now as in the past*; the eternal Presence, paramount as S. Stephen the first 'witness' declared in the moment of victory through defeat, triumphant just when human hope collapses; because only those who can seize the signs of His approach in the record of the days of old and in the more baffling perplexities of the present, can be blessed with the certitude of the Eternal Conquest in the future. Hence, he turned his enraptured gaze to one quarter, then to another whence evidence for the sublime thing could be drawn. Now it would be in the dimmest hints of bygone days, in the most prosaic annals of the strivings and backslidings of the Hebrews, where he could descry the footprints of the Suffering Servant, and utter in jubilant language what the vision was and what it told should come to pass. Or he would take cognizance of the grimmest facts of modern life, letting no detail escape him, and yet would manifest an unshaken confidence in the issue of the age-long conflict: inheriting the spirit of Hosea and Isaiah, whose trust in the primeval covenant was too unassailably strong to allow them to picture an inglorious destiny. We may not scrutinize the mystery of such faith either in one case or the other. But we may say that its origin was identical. Holland could not have told how the king-

dom of God was to come any more than the Hebrew seer could have told how and when the earth should be filled with the knowledge of God as the waters cover the sea. But the conviction persisted that it was so : that the scheme was being worked out: that finally he and his friends were fellow workers with God and joint heirs with Christ. It was not for his friends to diagnose whether the confident assurance began in his trusting in God in his early days or in the rich guidance which is gained by hearty and prayerful study of God's Word. Many will think, however, that the motto, 'God first,' applies directly to the question. Any one who with heart and mind takes in the fact, learnt by experience and by prayer, that the Holy Spirit is working in all of us, turns next to the Bible, and soon perceives the warrant and corroboration of his highest hopes in the record of the Chosen People.

This last point is important as it may save us from a crude inference as to the genesis of faith. A reader of Holland's very striking essay in *Lux Mundi* may suppose at first that the writer points out the facts which, being interpreted in a particular way, form the basis of a particular belief: but that if scientific investigation should demonstrate that the supposed fact is after all not a fact, the faith yet remains unimpaired. Hence certain critics have been agog to show how unconvincing and irrational Holland's reasoning at this point is. But such an impression could only be felt by those who misconceive what Holland meant by

faith: namely, a surrender of the whole being to a personal challenge, on the assumption that the challenge comes from our Creator: that in our relation to Him we should recognize mysterious hints as tokens of the Higher Life, and faintly whispered commands as promises of renewed grace and strength; for how could our Maker and Saviour us mock by any command which we should be justified in believing to be impossible?

Holland's faith in Christ was a personal relation. In our human friendships we are indifferent to much of the criticism we hear as to the character of our friend, and even if some kind deed which we attributed to him is shown to have been left undone, the facts in short to be different from what we supposed, it makes no difference to our belief in him. For that belief rests not on isolated nuggets of fact, to be used as a savage uses pebbles on the sea-shore in reaching some elementary calculation: but is independent of all such; being the outcome of a deep, unspoken perception of a loved personality, the corollaries of which remain intact as the message of our salvation.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PREACHER REVEALED IN HIS MESSAGE

IN writing a tentative estimate of a great personality there is a danger of profanity, the attempt to probe what is intended to be a mystery. How can any one dare to discriminate between any natural character and that which grows from a man being ' born anew ': or to indicate the nature of the hidden struggle against temptation; how all fleshly desires are more and more turned into stepping-stones to higher things; how the single-heart takes the place of the perverse and distempered will; how the craving for the approval even of good men ' melts like wax ' before the light of the Divine Countenance, as it is lifted up before the wondering eyes; what, in short, is the nature of the self-conquest which is needed if the Holy Spirit is to achieve the miracle of transformation ?

For in the case of all our prophets and heroes and saints something of this sort must have taken place ; and the demand at the present day is that all these elements of personal history should be probed into and analysed and laid bare, that readers who find life dull may be able to wile away a passing hour in the make-believe of serious study and the masquerade of self-improvement. They recall the tremendous

tableau on the hill of Calvary where—distinct from those who mocked, and from those who ' smote their breasts and returned '—there was the third group: of whom it is said, ' sitting down they watched Him there.'

Nevertheless, however much we may enter into the spirit of the poet's warning, ' *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo*,' there are numberless indications in the great preacher's sermons which we are bound to take as autobiographical, and which, being published that all who run may read, we are at liberty to use, in order that the Spirit's working in his case may be to some slight extent manifested to the edification of many.

In the *City of God* (p. 84) he gives his arresting view of Worship ; which popular Christianity constantly tends to employ as an anodyne for unavoidable anxieties or a theme for exacerbated controversy.

> You and I, my brethren, fall under this law of worship. Every approach to the sanctuary pledges us anew to inner conformity to the mind and judgement of God. And therefore our joyful awe in worship will always have about it a terror. We are recognizing with our ' Amens ' a God Who judges the great whore. We have a sense of the smoke that rises from our own sins, consumed in that sinful city, that lies under the wrath of God. And very humbly and with trembling shame, and with the tears of penitence still wet on our cheeks, we shall listen to the mighty thunderings that mingle with the song of the thousand times ten thousand, and shall dare to murmur our ' Alleluia ! ' ' Just and true are Thy ways ; true and righteous are Thy judgements ! ' ' Alleluia : for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth ! '

It is well to note this passage, as it strikes a note of terror that is far less often heard in Holland's sermons than the note of joy. Yet it must have been sounding in the depths of his consciousness unfailingly, so vigorous and first-hand is his expression of it from time

to time. Moreover, the words remind us of Father Benson's terrifying teaching on the Comminatory Psalms, that we may not withdraw ourselves from God's judgements any more than from His love. That great thinker is almost the only one in the front rank of Christian teachers who gives equal attention to the two aspects of the love of God: its tenderness and its severity. It is evident that the current of sentiment and opinion at the present time is strongly set in the direction of leniency, mercy, pity, and gentleness as the attributes of the Deity, and the 'proportion of the Faith' as given in the New Testament is seriously threatened. Any superficial estimate of Holland's message would classify him among the preachers who generally fail to lay adequate stress on the awfulness of the Divine Judgement, and it is regrettable that among his published discourses scarcely any deal directly with what is called Eternal Punishment. But if the few severe passages are attentively read they reveal the wonder of the Church's unvarying witness to the profundity of the mystery with which we are confronted. Though the space allotted to the comminatory theme is slight, there is no vacillation or feebleness of grip on the two sides of the great contradiction.

When we compare such teaching as Father Benson's with Holland's we find in the former a transcendent, victorious power of interpreting life from the heavenly side. All that Benson says is so steeped in faith, so utterly independent of suggestions from the common thought of mankind, that he habitually contemplates

the darkest facts (as we see them) as part of God's action, and therefore from the Scriptural, and especially the Psalmist's point of view, a theme of praise. Holland's vocation was to indicate the evidences of the Divine Revelation furnished by the ordinary course of things. From many a long night spent on his knees the prophet of Cowley rose up to show how the world in all its aspects is prophetic of judgement : which, however awful, destructive, and unchangeable, is an integral part of God's scheme, and therefore unspeakably glorious. Holland, on the other hand, though never blind to life's terrors and disappointments, was continuously uplifted by the sight of God's presence in His works: in Nature; and in History. That is, of course, a spiritual achievement beyond the power of all but a select few of our present-day saints, and no one of the elect group can tell us more of the process of this faculty and its method of its working than is given us in the sermon on ' The Function of the Gospels.' Characteristically Holland pitches upon a text which has been estimated by some commentators as a trivial exaggeration, and so unworthy of S. John that it is generally ascribed to one of his disciples.

The text is the close of S. John xxi. Why have these countless sayings and doings of Christ on earth been withheld from us ? Because we estimate and learn to know great personalities, not from a cumulation of detail about them, but from dwelling on certain outstanding moments when the man himself has been revealed. In a very beautiful passage, too long to quote, the preacher discloses to us the rare treasure

which friendship was to him: his keen insight into the divine element in the personality of his friends. The reader for a moment thinks he has got the secret of Holland's joyfulness. But no. The explanation of the Evangelist's reticence is that the Hero of his story is not an historic figure which has passed away from us, but the living and ever-present Christ in contact with whom is our life and salvation. That contact is brought about and ensured by the operation of the Holy Spirit. At the end of this typically illuminating discourse, as often elsewhere, the follower of Christ can only say that he lives and grows by the divine indwelling.

Further than this he cannot go. To a very singular degree Holland was able to express what he felt: the inward wrestlings through which he entered on his growth in self-mastery, insight, and power; but when it came to a question of the transforming influence the copious rhetorician is silent. Something was at work in himself and others which he could no more than S. Paul explain: he could only indicate it by phrases which echo to us voices of the 'hallowed past': 'not I, but Christ.'

Yet even as we turn back baffled in our quest we recognize the working of a law. Holland was, as far as we could tell, a remarkable instance among English people, of the spell wrought in others by self-forgetfulness. For there is something curiously paralysing in self-absorption: but, as most of us know by experience, at rare moments a blessed freedom is allowed to us when something which we designate by the beautiful

Greek word 'ecstasy' is given: a 'standing out of ourselves' as if the 'old man,' the old poisoned self, were for the moment sloughed off, forgotten, and disowned. While self-conquest is proceeding and in proportion as it is incomplete we can talk about it if we will. There may of course be reluctance; but there is no inability to put into words our shortcomings, failures, even our self-deceptions—but the renewing, quickening Power that has been working within us, that we may not specify or analyse or picture or explain. Holland by his fine reticence showed he was one of us, but an exemplar in the matter of refinement, reverence, and habitual worship.

As we have noted in remarking on Holland's treatment of Butler's *Analogy*, a cardinal point in his creed was the correspondence between the law exemplified in the stages of earth's evolution and the processes of the spiritual life, herein showing distinctly his divergence from a writer like Father Benson. That great exponent of mysteries seems to his readers to have been more at home in the courts of heaven than in and among the sons of men. He habitually thought of this world as a scene of life poisoned, utterly corrupt, devastated; and emphasized this side of the truth in order to bring out the glory of the transcendent God Who without coercion creates from our nothingness His eternal kingdom. Holland was a prophetic interpreter of the world and of mankind as the material—fashioned perfectly for their purpose—out of which the unimaginable kingdom of God was gradually to take its rise; and he was gifted with the excellent

endowment of insight into things, so that the mighty and gracious operations of the Holy Spirit were not hidden from him as they are, alas! from most of us through our own wilful blindness. Beyond all doubt the two teachers were more agreed than Holland perceived; and anyhow, it is especially incumbent on us to make sure that we balance the warnings of the older man alongside of the buoyancy and hopefulness of the younger.

A sermon in *Pleas and Claims* called 'The Function of the Gospels' sheds light on Holland's attitude towards controversial questions. He assumes there the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel: but the lessons, which he finds there throughout his sermons, are so powerfully stated that the reader soon perceives how little the message of that Gospel depends on its authorship. We are reminded that this Gospel only touches upon twenty days of Christ's earthly career: and that the last chapter seems to have been added reluctantly in deference to a strong desire on the part of his disciples, who, like us, yearned for more and more of the unique and enthralling story. 'He spent his energy not in gathering but in sifting.' Why?

> There is one dominant and effective answer. Because Jesus Christ is still alive, and at work. Jesus Christ is a living Person, ascended to the right hand of God, reigning in the midst of His Church. He through His Spirit is here, ready to meet difficulties as they arise . . . to lead His believers on and on in the path on which they have set out. . . . The religion of Christ begins and ends wholly in an active and energetic contact between the Person of Jesus Christ and the person of His followers: a contact begun in baptism, realized in confirmation, discovered in conversion.

On this theme Holland wrote as if he were a disciple

of Wescott: and it might be supposed that he was chiefly concerned with those doctrines concerning the Incarnation which afford to our infirmity a bright and well-grounded hope for the future. But he was fully alive to the dangers of a faith out of proportion, and pointed out the defect in Westcott's teaching of an inadequate grasp of the meaning of sin. Meantime, he himself was not only glowing with buoyant hope for the future, but overflowed with thankfulness for God's unspeakably gracious pardon for the past. If to this double complexion of his religious position be added his loyalty to Reason and vivid alertness in welcoming every new scientific discovery, and in interpreting afresh the hallowed traditions of the Church; we see that in him lay rich and abundant sympathy, with new ideas pouring in from every side; is it not clear that Holland united in himself the best elements of those schools of thought which are still roughly designated by the terms High, Low, and Broad?

A vivid light on Holland's tone of thought is given us by his sermon on London as contrasted with the country. Though he spent nearly all his working life in urban surroundings, Oxford and London, he was passionately sensitive to the sweet influences of rural scenery; and the passages in the *Commonwealth* and in many a sermon picturing the glories of an English spring-time are among the very richest and most convincing of his rhetorical efforts. Generally it may be said that lovers of the country disparage town-life, and, if religiously-minded, look on it as a dismal stage through which most members of the community have

to pass in the course of its evolution: a stage necessary, we believe, for our development, but hideous and horrible all the same. Holland, with his heart torn by what he saw and heard every day in Piccadilly, Lambeth, and Leicester Square, yet boldly and quite sincerely pleaded that in some respects the revelation of God which comes to dwellers in the town is higher than that of the country, in spite of the orderly beauty of nature, her wholesomeness, her discipline, and her beauty.

WAS HOLLAND A MODERNIST?[1]

It is undeniable that Holland had no love whatever for controversy. Here and there he urges in his sermons or lectures that a certain view is untenable, but as often as not he quotes it without naming any adherent of it; and his discussion of its truth invariably shows sympathy with the underlying assumptions, the presuppositions, of those who apparently differ from him. But though in one case he certainly leaves a particular writer with no leg to stand on, there is no sign of eagerness to prove him wrong, but a massive marshalling of facts and fundamental convictions which cannot fail to be acknowledged by both sides equally. That is, he argues always by setting forth the truth as he sees it, based on generally recognized principles: so that any disputant is led to look into the heart of the matter; and if he continues to differ from Holland he must ask himself whether two men who

[1] Some illustrations of this section may be found in the volume entitled *Creeds and Critics*.

start together from the same point can really and sincerely find themselves as far apart as they previously seemed to be.

This method of traversing the opinions of others is immensely more instructive, more edifying, and more persuasive than the fashionable way of arguing, because it is never engaged with details but always with fundamentals, and is wholly free from the least taint of self-display. What made Holland argue, if ever he did, was no sort of desire to prove any one wrong, but a burning conviction that the truth was larger than this or that writer had stated it.

A great deal is written nowadays on the supposed divergence of view between the Orthodox and the Modernists. The former are accused by the latter of obscurantism, an unintelligent clinging to formulae which they do not understand, and a stubborn refusal to consider the bearing of scientific discoveries on their religious position. Now there is no writer of any note to whom anything savouring of stagnation or obscurantism was so profoundly repellent as to Holland. Yet it is impossible to any reader of his books not to see that he was thoroughly orthodox. On the other hand, he welcomed every new discovery of the Higher Criticism or of the pioneers of Science, and showed with the utmost readiness how it fitted into the Church view of the Universe and of History. How is this to be explained ?

One consideration comes out clearly. Holland's entire devotion to fact and experience sundered him utterly from those writers to whom certain statements

in the Gospel narrative are neither to be denied nor affirmed but left in a kind of suspense-haze. Again, his extraordinary sympathy with the forward movement of contemporary thought makes it impossible to identify him for one moment with those traditionalists who have hoped against hope that they may be left secure in their reliance on the inability of Science to explain any miracle. He gleefully caught at any new discovery for which the evidence was thought by good judges to be adequate. Hence he stands out as a triumphant witness to the congruence of two convictions which are constantly affirmed by writers of both schools to be incompatible: namely, an unshakable hold on the affirmations of the Nicene Creed; and a readiness to restate the fundamentals of the traditional Faith with a superb freshness and most convincing power.

If it could be realized that there is nothing forced or unnatural in this conciliation, we should be spared a huge volume of controversial literature, which even now is pouring forth a confused and noisy message, fraught with ever-renewed bewilderment to many truth seekers, but less disturbing to honest minds than is sometimes imagined.

To some of us it seems almost a sacred duty to point out with vigour and precision wherein people of a different 'school of thought' from our own are in error: and it is nearly always the case that in the performance of this task we insensibly stray from the centre of our subject to the circumference; we leave what is important and become engrossed with details.

This is of course worse than a waste of time. But there is a still more baneful method of disputation, which is to asseverate in general terms that your opponents are fools, without taking the trouble to discriminate between their different utterances. If this is done with literary skill, and with the infusion of some venom into the phrases, the writer may calculate on a large audience; the fact being that, among the multitude who are 'out in search of a religion,' there are many thousands who can appreciate a pungent and idle epigram but will not be at pains to understand any constructive statement of truth; still less to frame one.

From this lamentably common tendency Holland was wholly free. He never failed to see how disputation arose from people stopping short of basic principles, and where the disputants were using words in different senses. Thus, when Modernists jeered at old-fashioned but narrow reverence for the text of the Old Testament, and alarm at the critics' suggestions of historical inaccuracy, he would point out how extraordinarily little difference the new views made in our respect for the Hebrews as historians or to the unique character of the training they received. Others, of course, have taken this line, but no one, I think, so promptly and decisively as Holland. Some of my readers will remember that the aim of F. W. Robertson's latest teaching was in the same direction.

Our question, however, can best be answered if we remind ourselves that differences of opinion concerning the Virgin Birth or the Empty Tomb, however clearly

stated, do not necessarily reveal the Modernist or the Traditionalist mind.[1]

If one of the former group doubts one of these two dogmas it is not, primarily, because he is more enlightened than some defender of the orthodox view, or is in possession of some recent evidence unknown to his antagonist; but because, consciously or unconsciously, he is strongly predisposed against any interpretation of the story which seems to him to contradict Science.

Against this the orthodox plea is generally that a sinless Being appearing among mankind is in itself an amazing miracle: and that such contact between God and man would inevitably involve occurrences wholly exceptional and inexplicable. Further, that it is unscientific to prejudge as impossible any allegation concerning the power of a unique personality.

Holland had warm sympathy with this line of argument, but he rarely discusses the great question on this level. His witness to the supernatural Personality of the Son of God was based on the spiritual experience of Christendom and his own in particular. Perhaps a plea based, as he always admitted it was, on an assumption verified by spiritual fact, might fail in convincing a Modernist opponent: but Holland was certainly right in insisting that all discussion about the Empty Tomb and other miracles was idle trifling till each party to the dispute made it plain with what view of Christ's Person he started. If there was a

[1] Reference may be made to Dr. Holland's contribution to the volume entitled *Miracles*, published by Longmans, and to his own book *On behalf of Belief*.

difference on that head the arguing would never end. If there was no difference, the arguing ought never to begin.

So he would state and expound and amplify the entire congruity between the Christian view of Christ's Person and the double statement as to His birth given by S. Matthew and S. Luke. Such a treatment of the question, he passionately insisted, was perfectly rational, and he justified his confidence by his exposition of the relation of Faith to Reason.

It is therefore impossible to classify him either as a Modernist or a Traditionalist. His creed embraced all that is vital in both, and he penetrated too deep to be labelled either the one or the other. In short, if we consider the tone of the majority of writers on the subject of Miracles we shall see that far too little regard is paid to the grand fact generally admitted by both sides: viz. that we are considering the effects of the Divine Life touching the human; and how that it is sheer presumptuousness to assume that the limitations of earth circumscribe the actions of the Creator.

In other words, Holland kept his mind really open when any question arose as to the nature of the divine action on human life or on the course of nature. He was not credulous: indeed he insisted on the necessity of scrutinizing the evidence for every alleged miracle; but also—and this is a further point—the obligation to include in the evidence the pre-existing need for something beyond the normal. 'The supernatural can never find itself nor justify itself except out of the existing situation.' 'It claims to respond to prophetical

anticipations and to solve nature's dilemmas and paradoxes. The miracle of Christianity is justified because all nature is there to justify it.'

Clearly this thesis belongs to his favourite doctrine that Christianity cannot be understood without some knowledge of the historical conditions which led up to it. But the question may be asked : What sort of conditions may be taken as ' justifying ' so stupendous an event as the Incarnation of Christ ? Holland quotes with approval the dictum of Dr. Marett : ' In all its forms, from first to last, Religion is awe at the beyond.' Now many writers have judged this ' awe ' to be simply the outcome of ignorance exhibited by primitive man. But what if it is no less a characteristic of religion among the most highly developed groups of mankind ? For, in fact, man's progress in knowledge of this ' beyond ' is due to his perception of its relation, its correspondence, to the highest desires and upward strivings of normal human life at its best. That perception quickens in him the burning curiosity to explore: the wonder which is the parent of philosophy, and the concomitant of all advance in knowledge. But supposing the supernatural were a freakish intrusion, a mere abnormality, such as the Pharisees asked for as a sign, it would awaken only a temporary interest as an interruption in a routine, inexplicable, gratuitous, and without purpose or effect. Such is the supernatural which ' Modernists ' for some centuries past have supposed orthodox believers to postulate in the Apostles' Creed.

Nothing could be more alien to Holland's teaching.

A marvel unrelated to its historical context he would not have ruled out as impossible: but till the historical context was made out he would have suspended his judgement as to its actual occurrence, or rather he would not have thought about it at all. His strength of memory was remarkable, but there was no evidence that his held unsorted, useless little nuggets of knowledge in his brain; for it seemed that as soon as ever he turned his attention to any group of facts it was instantaneously illuminated by being related to a whole stratum of other facts, not by dint of over-subtlety, but by a flash of convincing intuition which, while it lulled controversy, stimulated thought and pierced down to the rich core of the subject.

We may pass on now to consider his attitude towards Modernist views of the Bible in respect of Higher Criticism.

A somewhat strange story was reported to Archdeacon Charles to the effect that about 1886 Holland was confronted by a student with the new views associated with the names of Wellhausen and Kuenen: and spoke in disparagement of them as likely to be ephemeral. This view seems odd to us now when we remember that in 1887 Holland was associated with the *Lux Mundi* writers, who did yeoman service in showing that the new teaching left the foundation of our Faith undisturbed.

An explanation possible to those who were not familiar with the workings of Holland's mind would be that from distrust of the new views he postponed consideration of them as long as he could, but that,

when compelled, he cast about for arguments to show that, e.g., the later date of Deuteronomy, or any other novelty of interpretation, was either insignificant or untrue; and therefore the conservatives might cling to their old formulae anyhow for the present. It may be doubted if such a slumberous attitude of mind was ever as common as many Modernists have supposed : to-day, anyhow among any who can be called students, it is non-existent. Nor has any Modernist teaching done so much to rouse men's minds to activity as Holland's handling of Hebrew history. But his view was of such ample range, and dealt so often with matters beyond the horizon of the Higher Criticism, that no one could imagine him clinging to any opinion, on any subject, that was antiquated or outworn.

The distinctive feature of his Bible teaching was its constructiveness. No sooner did any new statement of fact come to be accepted than Holland showed how it gave fresh support to his unvarying conviction of the unique character of the training of the Hebrews. Many Higher Critics, in Germany and elsewhere, resented this handling of their pet theories. They had set themselves to undermine and destroy the fabric of orthodoxy. Holland was one of the captains of those who welcomed every new discovery as a help to edification. Even more than his actual opinions, the rational method by which he arrived at them worked for the stilling of the strife, and offered the most salutary guidance to all seekers after truth.

Perhaps we may sum up our conclusion on this question by quoting a passage from a sermon entitled

'Authority and Faith.' The preacher was dealing with the time-honoured question: Why is it that the Divine Revelation is never certain? When the Jews clamoured, 'If Thou be the Christ tell us plainly,' the Lord's answer was the reverse of clear: and we can see that He repels the demand for a definite, conclusive authority which should lay our questionings and answer every perplexity straight away. He appealed to the authority of His own deeds and words: 'It must be an authority which has a tie of living kinship with the spirits that are subject to its sway.' Then follow words which should be carefully weighed. 'The authoritative command, the necessity, must have its root within, and not without, the submissive hearers, so that they can recognize in it the voice of their higher self—the voice of the paramount self which they have never realized, perhaps, and could not hope of themselves to attain, but yet which is their veritable reality in the sight of God. They must be able . . . to recognize in it a transfigured glory of what they themselves are, so that they are taken up into the very law before which they bow.'

These words affirm—though in connexion with another topic—the fact of the subjective element in the reception of objective truth. This is a matter which concerns us closely to-day, when we try to weigh the claims of what is called Modernism as against the more conservative spirit called Traditionalism. On first acquaintance we are inclined to picture religious people as in two main groups: the one consisting of those whose ideas of God and His relation to mankind

are most adequately expressed in the formulae of the Church and by the view of Bible history which was commonly held, say, fifty years ago. The other group we take to consist of people with minds more receptive of novelties, more alert to catch the first intimations from Science or History, even though they necessitate our recasting of religious ideas and our statements as to God's action in past time. It is often taken for granted that the difference in the two ways of looking at the same facts is simply due to the different rate at which minds advance along the same line of thought: and that, e.g., the Modernists accepted at once the conclusions of the Higher Critics of the Old Testament, whereas the other group required thirty or forty years, but at the end of that time was found to be in substantial agreement with their more agile-minded and generally younger brethren.

Such a statement of the position would not be very inaccurate if it referred to some such period as from 1880 to 1900. But during the first quarter of the present century various utterances of those who are called Modernists indicate a deeper divergence of opinion on certain controversies, and ultimately on the whole relation between God and the created Universe. That is to say, the conventional diagnosis of the points at issue fails to fit the plain facts. One of the first of English scholars to admit most of the conclusions of the moderate German school was Dr. Gore, and his writings for a time caused no little disquiet among the disciples of Pusey and Liddon. But no one could think of Dr. Gore as agreeing fundamentally with the

writers in the *Modern Churchman*. The same remark would apply to all the other writers in *Lux Mundi*. What would be, then, a truer description of the attitudes towards, say, the Creeds adopted by the central nucleus of the two groups to-day? When we have determined that question, we will consider the bearing of Holland's teaching on the problems which have been started.

To avoid prolixity I will briefly state the fundamental issue between the two schools. History is regarded by historians in one of two ways. Either man is generally the centre of observation, or God is. The former leads to an estimate of man's development and his achievements (in the establishing of civilized and civilizing practices over an increasing area of the earth's surface), in which the main activity is ascribed to the natural man; and the general movement in man and in Nature is conceived of as a process of growth called Evolution, by which progress is effectuated towards a far-distant but glorious goal. Further, if old associations, the teaching in childhood, the haunting phrases of the Psalms, constrain to a recognition of the part played by Providence in the great drama, the perplexity that results is allayed by the reflection that God acts through man, always dealing with us as moral agents, never coercing our free will. So that History is rightly viewed as the record of man's achievement, man's inventiveness, man's increasing mastery over opposing forces.

Similar is the lesson we learn from Science. What the Old Testament ascribed to God's direct intervention we have learnt is the result of natural forces, of

laws in operation which are never broken. Where there appears to be a gap in our knowledge, such as our failure to conceive of the beginning of life on the planet, we rest assured that in due time the gap will be filled: men's best brains are at work, and fresh discoveries are in prospect through which we shall learn how universal is the dominion of Law, how calculable and certain is the working of Cause and Effect: how imposing the machine-like regularity of Nature.

Thus in two ways students and thinkers are led to picture in imagination the cosmic process as going on independently of God. A vast amount of evidence, which it is easy to interpret as favourable to this view, has been collected from the study of Nature, and in regard to History the same principle of Evolution is confidently applied, and where previously was bewilderment and confusion there is now the fascination of tracing results from intelligible causes, an orderly sequence, the operation not of mysterious spiritual agencies, but of plain, practical human desires ; and wherever the regular working of cause and effect seems to be interrupted by unaccountable events, our ingenuity rises to the emergency. History is made out to be the working out of economic laws, and even the far more obscure operations of the human mind yield promise of revealing their secrets to Psycho-Analysis under the attractive guise of Psycho-Therapy.

Now it is easy to see how the attitude of mind which I have most inadequately described has waked up some feeling akin to alarm in the breasts of those to whom the

immediate presence and working of the Almighty in this world is a vivid fact, the secret of all their highest and most enduring hopes. Especially is this the case where the whole view of Life, Death, Sin, Grace, Repentance, Heaven, and Hell is dominated by the fact of the Incarnation. For to many who read the utterances of the Modernist group much appears to be said which, perhaps unconsciously, tends to belittle the great act of God by watering down its necessary implications. The 'orthodox' certainly have been alarmed, and have shown that they are, not always in the wisest or most charitable fashion. They have hinted or more than hinted at the Modernist's faith being but shadowy in all that concerns the manifestation of the supernatural: even the word being uncongenial to many: and the implications of some of their arguments being that the Creator of the world does *not act*.

What, then, has Holland to say to this 'unhappy division'?

With his dislike of controversy, and his great eagerness to pass on to others the secret of the joy with which he was incessantly uplifted, it is not surprising that he showed genuine sympathy and deep feeling for the Modernist view of the importance of the human element in history and in the composition of the sacred books, by not only acquiescing in the deliberate conclusions of the great scholars, but by welcoming them as soon as they gave prospect of being firmly established. It is true he did not forestall them: but his method of exposition and interpretation was such as

to allay all apprehension beforehand. For it consisted in positive affirmations starting from such a depth that the novel conjectures of the Higher Critics seemed like ripples on the surface of a quiet lake, unsuggestive of any cause for alarm. He had the gift of seizing the spiritual teaching of such a story as the Garden of Eden, and expounding it so arrestingly and with such conviction and insight, that the echoes of the dispute as to its historicity died away in the distance.

Quite similar is his handling of the New Testament narrative. In regard to such a story as the healing of the paralytic man the vast significance of the event, if it actually occurred, is so vividly shown that the reader forgets to worry about insoluble conundrums connected with auto-suggestion, psycho-therapy, and medical science. He makes the student feel that the story is a priceless revelation of the ways of God in dealing with man: and that in the light of that revelation all questions which stagger the reason of the finite mind are remote, intangible, and irrelevant. Moreover, by large and comprehensive grasp on the laws of God's relation to man, by penetrating diagnosis of situations and ready welcome of all evidence of the divine contact with the things of earth, he was wholly undisturbed when alarmist reports reached him that some massive tome had just been generated after thirty years' work, in Heidelberg or Munich, to prove unassailably that Abraham never existed, or that the Book of Chronicles was not intended by its compilers to be historical. His view of the whole Bible was too rich, too congruous to his conception of the Law of God,

for him to feel the slightest misgiving at the stress laid by many scholars on the human side of Evolution, or the probability of error in certain stories, or of subjectivity in the Fourth Gospel. His treatment of the last-named subject was exceptional. He there went down into the arena and showed that he had weighed the 'advanced' school's argument, but characteristically gave all the emphasis he could to the positive statement of the Johannine view by a fresh and sympathetic picture of the working of the Apostle's mind.

But the leading feature of his teaching, and by far the most important characteristic of it, is the proportional presentation of the *facts* of the Incarnation, the Death, the Resurrection of the Saviour, the Day of Pentecost, and their bearing on the perplexities of human life. There has at all times been a great deal of Christian teaching which leaves the hearer in doubt whether the writer means the same thing at all as his readers by professing his belief in the Incarnation; or even in the work of the Holy Spirit and the continued Presence of the Risen Christ. For it is perilously easy for preachers and writers to wrap their sayings on these august themes in a kind of gauzy haze, making it a matter of speculation how far they regarded them as History or not. Indeed, we may go further and say that owing to a strong tendency to magnify the part played by man in the age-long drama of History, the recognition of a Personal Ruler of the Universe has at times become uncertain and fitful, so that a naturalistic interpretation of the Atonement, of Sin, of Judgement, and of the miraculous element in the Gospel record

has been felt to be a corollary of a deistic or pantheistic view of the Creator. It seems to many that one of those times, in England, Germany, and America especially, is the twentieth century A.D.

It is difficult to imagine a more powerful corrective to this anthropocentric interpretation of human life and destiny than Holland's unvarying presentation of the historical basis of Christian dogma: his grip on fact: which was notably much firmer than that of the writers of the ' Modernist ' tendency. Nevertheless, he never shrank from any quasi-destructive conclusion reached by patient, sober-minded inquirers into the records, who gained light from various sources: anthropology, textual scholarship, comparative religions, geology, astronomy, etc. Holland was debarred from research into such subjects; but whatever might have been his knowledge of Greek and Latin Fathers, or of the post-Reformation divines, it is impossible to suppose that his message would have been materially different from what it was. He was gifted with such a faculty of realizing the presence and power of Christ in the Church *now* that all sound modification of the traditional statement of facts in the past only enriched his own interpretation of them. No ' neology ' which was reverent, and which kept the proportion of the faith as to Christ's work, could mar his buoyancy of conviction as to the divine operations unceasingly transforming earth into heaven. All human life, all human history, all human character, formed for him a wealth of evidence of God's redemption of the world.

Briefly, then, if we are right in interpreting the

word Modernism as denoting a view of life mainly anthropocentric, to which is added an acknowledgement of God's supremacy which tends to become a conception, an idea, an intellectual attainment, an achievement of the evolution of man's mind, prompting philosophically-minded persons to estimate all 'dogma' according to the measure of our finite thought, and to exclude willingly and with confidence whatever transcends it,—then indeed Holland was not a Modernist. He was whole-heartedly, passionately theocentric. He knew and proclaimed in unfaltering tones man's natural impotence, cowardice, debility, sickness, impurity, self-deception; the wreckage of his being. All this he declared, as Christ did, not by exhibiting familiarity with the sordid details of human sin, but by an uplifting disclosure of the divine indwelling, and the eternal, living hope, fostered by an ever-growing estimate of God's power to turn shame, infamy, disorder, and disease into an unimaginable glory.

Perhaps the best way to reach an estimate of Holland's originality in respect of the powerful teaching to which the title Modernism is given, is to compare him with his chief mentor, T. H. Green : whose influence was at its height just when Holland was making up his mind as to the meaning of this human life of ours. That influence was due to the strong, mature thoughtfulness of the man; but in a very marked degree to the nobility of his character, its austere independence of all the shallow noisiness of public opinion. As far as can be judged from Nettleship's admirable record of Green's teaching and personality, it is hardly conceiv-

able that the pupil can have been unaffected by contact with that strong, patient, humble seeker after truth; so much so, that in an estimate, by a younger man, of Holland at Oxford he is pictured as a disciple of Green, and as one whose mind was formed by his tutor and friend.

This judgement certainly requires modification : at least in the department of theology. Green was a fine example of ultra-Modernism at its best. Wholly free from shallowness of temper, arrogance, hastiness, and want of balance, he yet was sensitive to every revelation of the Eternal Spirit, the Source of all Truth, whether it came through History, Art, or Science. He was the determined foe of all levity of mind and want of sympathy with the opinions of others. Thinking was to him the straitest mode of access to God. Hence the intense seriousness of his thought : its ethical austerity and unvaryingly reverential tone. But his conception of the relation between God and man, coloured as it must have been by the dazzling triumphs of Science in the middle of last century, inhibited him from assenting to what he believed to be the orthodox position as to the Person of Christ. In the vast and abysmal question as to the comparative activity of the human and the divine, his thoughts were concentrated more on man's achievement than on God's grace; in other words, they were anthropocentric, and though theoretically he held that all truth and goodness came from above, the process of salvation seemed to him to be manifested in what we call Evolution; and he would not have objected to the title given to Christ by the Modernists of to-day, viz. the Crown of Evolution.

This remark is not to be taken as an attempted appreciation of the noble-hearted witness and guide to many on the upward path. Nothing of the kind. I am merely trying to indicate certain tendencies in Green's teaching which are markedly alien to the spirit glowing and pulsing through every sermon of Holland's. As a rule, it is a barren task to dwell on the divergencies of eminent thinkers; we give to it too much of our time. But as it was once necessary for S. Paul to show his independence of S. Peter in order that his own authority should be duly apprized and obeyed, so it is our business to show that the prophet to whom we listened with delight a few years back, was a prophet indeed and not a copy of 'those who seemed to be pillars' in the Temple not made with hands.

In another very important matter Green was out of sympathy not only with Holland but with all who are striving to-day to maintain a just theocentricity in their view of the contact between heaven and earth. He was one of a large army who in 1860 and onwards shuddered at the very word Miracle, construing it to mean a violation by the Deity of the laws He has Himself ordained; a casual, sudden onset and irruption of a higher Power breaking rudely into the august uniformity of Nature. Under the spell of Darwin and of many others they got to worship that uniformity, venerating it, quite rightly, as something sublime, unspeakably majestic, speaking to us in a tone of tranquil but most constraining authority and power. They protested against the old-fashioned doctrines which seemed to ignore the all-pervading reign of Law.

Holland was among the first to point out in this a certain crudeness of classification, the outcome of the wish to simplify and so commend Theism to the hungry multitudes. His writings on Miracles put the subject on a different level. I have considered them in a separate section, but here it may be remarked that his point of view was that of Green and Butler as regards the unity of Nature, not only in the material, but in the spiritual region. But his divergence from Green was decisive in his insisting on loyalty to fact, but 'fact' must include spiritual experience as well as the conclusions of the scientific world: and spiritual experience would include the action of Spirit upon matter.

Moreover, while we honour Green for his firm adherence to his own principles, it is difficult to acquit him of an unconscious application of a wholly unscientific principle, viz. that by a seeker after truth certain assumptions made by others may be ruled out *a priori*: that is, disallowed before investigation on the ground that they are impossible. Thus his view of the Incarnation forbade him to assent to the articles in the Creed which, he thought, asserted that Christ was born and died 'under conditions impossible to other men.' But the Creed asserts nothing about other men. The Church declares the fact to have occurred once, and makes no statement as to whether, if God willed, it could happen again. Green, however, though he imbibed many of his deepest ideas from the Fourth Gospel, shrank from the words 'the Word was made Flesh,' and could not have entered into the opening of the First Epistle of S. John: both of which passages

were part of the rock on which Holland's intellectual faith was planted.

Green poured quiet scorn on a creed which rested on an historical event; but Holland, viewing the narratives without the slightest *a priori* prejudice against their affirmations, welcomed history as one of the many channels through which God's Revelation of His saving purpose was made to be discernible to man. Green's religious views, though expressed with all possible reverence, humility, and sympathy with all good men, were *au fond* a blend of several heresies, and incompatible with any complete conception of the helplessness of human nature unredeemed by God's action.

Other differences might be pointed out, but only one more need be mentioned here. Green's etherealized, philosophical conception of the Christian story, however attractive to trained thinkers full of appreciation of the powers of human reason, was wholly impossible of apprehension to simple minds. Holland's grip of the permanent influence of spirit on matter, of heaven on earth, enabled him to take the actual, concrete facts as they have been given, such as the poor and uneducated can accept, as the common people heard Christ gladly. The theocentric conception was in 1860 difficult to religious thinkers, owing to the over-weening claims of Science and a mechanical view of the Universe. It is difficult to a great many to-day; and Holland's unvarying promulgation of it is a striking proof of his independence of mind and judgement.

CHAPTER IX

WHAT IS FAITH FOR THE SIMPLE-MINDED?

IN various publications Holland explains his theory of the relation between Faith and Reason. The subject is somewhat abstruse, and the questions he set himself to answer might be thought to be academic : that is, the kind of questions that are constantly being discussed among contemplative, speculative men, rather than among those whose lot is set in the hurly-burly of practical life.

Among these latter, however, there are thousands who are disquieted by the discrepancy they find between the claims made on behalf of Faith in the life of a Christian and the excellence of certain characters whom they meet every day, and who cannot prima facie be described as men of faith. The claims alluded to are exacting and rather terrifying, inasmuch as they remind us of many a Scriptural saying. Some of them are found in the important essay of Holland's: the first in *Lux Mundi*. There are expressions used there implying, first, that faith 'is the motion in us of our sonship in the Father; the conscious recognition and realization of our inherent filial adhesion to God.' Secondly, that this filial relation is the secret of all our life and power;

it is God pouring His strength into us. ' If faith goes, all further action of God upon the soul, all fresh arrival of power, is made impossible.'

Here we are brought up sharply against a difficulty which is felt very acutely among English people. For among us religion has always been of a strongly ethical sort. We are far more ready to rate a religious creed solely by the kind of moral character it seems to encourage than we are to think patiently what the foundations of the creed really are; and we are disposed to flout the claims of any religious doctrine to our reverence, if the available evidence seems to show that fine characters are developed independently of the doctrine quite as often as among the professed adherents of it. Furthermore, when we note the emphasis laid on the word ' conscious,' we may suspect a spirit of exclusiveness against which a strong current of feeling at the present day is in protest. This difficulty must be stated, and we will inquire how far Holland's teaching about Faith gives promise of relief.

Briefly, then, we come across men of notably fine character who cannot profess any belief in the fundamentals of Christianity and the lives they lead, conspicuous for integrity and single-minded sacrifice of self for the benefit of others, cause, or at any rate seem to excuse, a widespread hesitation to accept in any sincere and thorough-going fashion the teaching of the Church on what is called its supernatural side: that is the Incarnation of Christ, and the other facts stated in the Apostles' Creed. The general idea is that these very difficult affirmations have nothing

directly to do with the production of the most admirable, most manly, type of character.

Even more acute, however, is the difficulty of accounting for the frequent instances of men, and less often of women, who have no difficulty in accepting the Church's teaching, but in whom there is nothing like a quick, glad response such as comes from the sense of a personal relation to the risen and victorious Redeemer. They are sometimes true-hearted, loyal, steadfast Church people ; patiently engaged to the endless task of bettering their little corner of the world, and, free from all selfishness, set a fine example of brotherly love and persevering devotion to things of high import and hope. These are the men who make the world a more habitable place ; our good citizens who know how to work without boastfulness: how to be serene without being cold. Yet they will tell you they find the religious side of Christianity so uncongenial that they practically leave it to others of a different temperament to see to; and meantime they give themselves, often with a fine success, to beneficent undertakings which every one can understand.

Moreover, not only in the affairs of life as we call them, the duties of citizenship, do such men exhibit a goodly balance of mind, sagacity of judgement, industry, and perseverance; but when tested by the need of dealing with the trickery or indifference of others they show themselves to be of the finest metal, leaders and lamp-bearers of the community. They bring to bear on all kinds of searching problems a single-mindedness and sense of honour and power of appeal,

free from all cant and hollowness, such as few orthodox saintly Christians exhibit. There is little to wonder at when we find onlookers inferring that all lofty achievement, all gift of leadership, all greatness of character, are found quite as often without that sense of personal relation to Christ which preachers of the Gospel are apt to speak of as the one criterion of the higher life.

Now it might be difficult to lay the finger on any single passage in Holland's writings which deals directly with this very common perplexity: or on any teaching which suggests a plain, unvarnished answer. That there is such an answer is certain. This may be gathered from the very familiar words of Christ when He was questioned as to which is the first and great commandment. 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, mind, soul, and strength.' Obviously such a relation to God cannot possibly be of the unconscious sort. Whole-hearted love is always conscious, and there is no confusing the grim, humdrum routine-mongering of the man who says his religion is 'comprised in the word Duty' with the glorious reaching forwards and upwards of the true seeker after God.

This being so, the question naturally arises, How does an orthodox religious thinker deal with this phenomenon? Holland, it should be remarked, was thoroughly orthodox, though full of freshness and originality. Moreover, his sympathies with all that was sound and aspiring in human nature were quick, spontaneous, and sincere. Did he nevertheless coldly

repel the inquiry, 'How is it that character does not seem to depend on creed?' with the dogmatic statement that unless the life be lived in conscious union with Christ it cannot be called in any sense a Christian life? If this is the only answer to be extracted from his writings there are very many men, and not a few women, who will never read another word that he has written.

Now it would not be difficult to cite passages where he seems to lean to a somewhat exclusive view, especially when he is dilating upon the power of the Holy Spirit's action on the hearts of men. Indeed, it might be more difficult to find phrases which expressed the opposite view succinctly and directly; for Holland's eloquence was not of the sort which hammered out neatly-turned aphorisms or pithy sentiments which sum up the thoughts of a whole generation. This may be a regrettable fact, but it ought to spur his readers to grasp the main drift of his teaching, and ask themselves if it does not suggest with remarkable power and fullness where the answer lies to the interesting question before us. For the question is not only interesting but supremely important. We English people cannot bring ourselves to disregard character as the grand test of religion; and we habitually justify ourselves by the use of our Lord's saying: 'By their fruits ye shall know them.'

More than one answer might be given. Holland, I fancy, never faced the actual question in isolation from others, but as we get to understand the doctrines with which he was primarily concerned we can perceive

how it was that the particular problem did not seem to him to be specially urgent. First I would point to his frequent insistence on the meaning of Faith and the tremendousness of the claim made upon us in respect of it. Faith was to him all that is meant by self-surrender; and there must ever be a vast majority of people whose surrender to the will of God is incomplete; and many of these are professing Christians, more or less orthodox. So Holland would have said, if he had been pressed, that Faith is very often wanting in professing Christians, just as it is among those who range themselves in groups sundered from Christianity. Probably he would have gone further and admitted that, among men who have no light within them higher than a sense of Duty, there are some whose allegiance to their ideal is steadfast and sincere, and is based on an abjuring of the claims of self in presence of an ideal which demands no less in the way of sacrifice. There is nothing strange if the type of character produced among this *élite* of the simple-hearted stands out conspicuous both for strength and charm: for it denotes a victory over the ego more complete than can be found among all but the choicest flower of what we call saintliness.

But there is no need to conjecture what answer Holland would have given if the question had presented itself to him, as it often does to others. The safer course is to note the main message he had to deliver, and to ask how it bears upon the problem.

To begin with: the question can only be felt to be urgent by those whose outlook on mankind is strongly individualistic. Holland's was the opposite. In no

matter is his tone so vehement, so confident, so richly charged with illustration and strength of thought, as when he was enforcing the collective point of view; that is to say, the solidarity of mankind, the corporate life of the Church. In exactly the tone of S. Paul, he habitually reminded his hearers that they belonged to a Society which had been redeemed, cleansed, and lifted up, as we say, potentially to the throne of grace. In the glory of that fact, when once it is realized, all kinds of insoluble problems come to be focussed anew. They seem to lose their sting, and though just as difficult to our reason as before, they cease to be quite relevant. The eleventh sermon in the volume called *Creed and Character* goes almost further than is warranted by S. Matthew V in sundering the Law and the Gospel: so powerfully did Holland feel the new life animating the Christian community to which we, by God's bounty and favour, belong.

For if the matter be attentively considered there is something Jewish and outworn in our English habit of reckoning the work of the Holy Spirit in terms of duty and conduct. It is wholly impossible to imagine S. Paul sitting down and discussing the position in God's sight of men who could hardly be called believers in the Holy Spirit, or in the union of the Society with the Risen Lord. The truth to him was the present fact of man being quickened and transformed day by day as members of a Living Body, divinely reinvigorated by the Holy Spirit of God. If we were still living under the Law instead of the Gospel, doubtless haunting questions as to the status of individuals in God's

sight would have continued to vex our hearts, as indeed they do still, because we are strangely prone to misconceive of our earthly pilgrimage: to fancy that we are still subsisting on the 'weak and beggarly elements' of the old dispensation, instead of being already partakers in eternal life through our membership in the Body of Christ. We can hardly shake ourselves free of the notion that we earn salvation by our dutifulness; whereas salvation is God's free gift to a perishing and helpless humanity; and is a fact so fraught with glory and hope that the perplexities which are inherent in all forms of anthropocentricity melt away in the light of the blessedness of God's Revelation.

Probably Holland would have answered the particular difficulty we are considering by emphasizing the second phrase in S. Matthew iv. 17: a correct paraphrase being as follows—Interpret life anew: seeing that the Sovereign God is near [to you]. It is hardly too much to say that the whole of the New Testament is an expansion of that compressed statement of God's self-manifestation. Holland knew that he was summoned to point out the evidence of the reality of that nearness: and while he did so he was ever conscious—as all the greatest minds have been—of the vast range of human ignorance. He was all aflame with the sense of the Spirit fulfilling the divine promises, and could not bring his mind to linger on the great enigmas of life and destiny, the answers to which are plainly outside our horizon.

There is another line of thought which Holland persistently followed, and in doing so showed his

spiritual kinship with S. Paul. It was said of the great Apostle by Robert Moberly that, in respect of matters of conduct, he never appealed to a convert as an individual but always as a member of a Society. Those words almost exactly describe Holland's method. If we put ourselves at his point of view we shall see that many problems lose their sting: they take on a new colour. Thus we may imagine the community of faithful people surrounded by the heedless, unthinking, unpraying multitude, but including in its own circle many individuals who seem hardly alive to their personal relation to God: who are baptized members living and working alongside of others all aglow with the consciousness of the Divine Presence within them. The difficulty is to account for the not infrequent cases where the Churchman is not a Churchman in temperament, but only in status: and yet exhibits a very noble and attractive type of character, which disposes the critic to say that the sense of personal relation to Christ is as ineffectual for edification as it is in itself, for most ordinary Christians, unintelligible. The English people are not, except in a few isolated instances, mystically inclined, and therefore Christianity should be presented to them as a practical aid, an adjunct to the works of philanthropy which are demanded of all alike.

Holland, if he had been disposed, as he never was, to argue, would have pointed out that the supernatural life poured out on the community acts ' at sundry times and in divers manners,' and must not be supposed to regulate itself according to methods which we men can classify or anticipate. The variety of its action

and influence is infinite: and almost the only thing we know about it is that its effects differ with each individual. Further, that when we consider men in groups and communities these effects become far more complex and untraceable than before; the only thing certain being that when a large group is swayed by the same spirit, be it good or evil, there is hardly a single individual who can resist the force of the volume of feeling set in motion. Now in the Christian Church all are subject more or less to the pressure in a certain direction of the same kind of hopefulness, gratitude, fear, and love. To some the influence has come through the consciousness in each severally of the personal Presence and co-operation of the Risen Lord. Others, not a few, seem to have been denied this mystical gift, and to have received instead the power of idealizing and almost personifying Duty ; so that their allegiance to it means no less of self-forgetfulness and yearning for the highest thing of which they can form any conception.

Supposing, then, that the faith, zeal, and love of the whole Christian community were what it might be, these men of probity, steadfastness, and simple strength would have been kindled as thousands like them were kindled on the Day of Pentecost: but the fire of love and the inspiration of a great company of witnesses, and the quickening power of the prophet's voice, have been denied them. They show by their self-surrender to the light within them how glorious will be their entry some day into the joy of their Lord. The responsibility, however, for the poor, defective teach-

ing, which is all the nourishment they have been given, rests on the Society at large.

Moreover, Holland all through his teaching, as well as in his daily life, gave evidence of an eager apprehension of the doctrine, beginning to be widely accepted to-day, that in Beauty and Science we may safely recognize channels of the Divine Self-Revelation to man : though he would have said with von Hügel that the knowledge of God gained through them is on a lower plane than that which is granted to the seekers after Righteousness.

In one of his sermons he used the words, ' Out of Egypt have I called my son,' as a parabolic illustration of the blessing to be expected from Science. Egypt, the symbol of evil : the most unexpected quarter whence good should come. So the scientific reconstruction of the Old Testament, which was then under discussion, would yield fresh light on the old hymn of praise, ' Thy word is a lantern unto my feet and a light unto my paths ': though many devout Church people looked upon it with dread. Thus a life dedicated in the right spirit to Science or Art is the life of a true seeker after God. If egoism is banished God is found. Yet it remains ever true that though there ought to be no conflict or severance between the seekers after Righteousness and Knowledge, yet the former have ' chosen the better part, and it shall not be taken away from them.' Deep and genuine self-conquest is demanded of all groups; for beyond and above all partial aims there is the call to the personal relation, ' Thou shalt love the Lord thy God.'

CHAPTER X

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

THE best way for those who wish to form an estimate of any writer's contribution of knowledge or insight to his own generation is to consider his teaching under different heads, or what we call subjects. Holland's richly-endowed mind seized on new aspects of Theology, Philosophy, History, Scriptural interpretation, Art, and Literature. What makes his utterances on all of these supremely interesting and stimulative of thought is his invariable habit of building on fundamental assumptions which commend themselves at once to a great majority of his fellow countrymen. In no department of knowledge is this quality of his so manifest as in his treatment of History.

An essay subject often set, I am told, at Oxford is, 'Why do we read History?' Frequently an answer is given in rather an off-hand fashion, especially by our countrymen, that in order to find a solution to the problems that are before us to-day we have only to ransack the records of the past and note what our forefathers did in similar difficulties, and either imitate their example or shun it. Or it is said that you cannot judge of the worth of any movement or of any institution among mankind till you know its historical setting: you do not know what the British Constitution is

unless you have traced its development. Other reasons have been given, all interesting, none satisfying.

Holland, as might be expected, interpreted all history in the light of his deep, unassailable conviction that the Creator of mankind has been engaged from the beginning in revealing and offering to us that which we conceive of as the Higher Life. What we call History is man's response to God's overture. Further, that man is born with the desire for this Higher Life, and with faculties to apprehend the conditions laid down by Divine Law for its attainment.

Here we can detect some of the secret of his optimism. The philosophic foundation for it has been briefly considered in chapter VII. But in his lectures on the attitude of the Church to the claims of civilization we see a fine application of the optimistic creed to History, and if it is attentively considered we shall gather from this lecture an answer to the constantly recurring question: 'Was Holland's optimism an affair of temperament, a kind of physical buoyancy on which the lethargic multitude may gaze for a while and marvel and pass: or was it based on a view of our relation to the Creator which is really and truly held by a vast majority of Christians?'

For instance, there is the brilliant and enthralling story of Athens in her prime. It is redolent of splendid achievement, and lustrous with the glory of art and the first great essays in the exploration of the unseen world; but with all its brightness it is the very symbol of the melancholy truth, 'The fashion of this world passeth away.' The empire of Athens is the very

emblem of all that is dazzling and transient: doomed from its earliest days to crumble and perish. Hence, when we have read our Thucydides, we recognize how much there is to be said for the view that as soon as the Greeks began to reflect they lost their naive confidence in themselves, and stand out in the records of antiquity as a proof of the impossibility of reconciling the claims of time and of eternity. For as long as they maintained their joyous outlook on life they made a success of this world. But is that all that is to be learnt from the historian who is sometimes extolled as the greatest of all historians, just as he was, as far as we can tell, the first to write philosophical history at all ?

It is difficult to exaggerate the urgency and interest of the question. It amounts to this: Granted that we know fairly well what is meant by good government of States; by good national temper and aspirations, in short by national ethics, how far may we say that a virtuous community is more likely to be stable and prosperous in this world than one which is consistently selfish and inconsiderate of the claims of others ? Of course, such a question to be mooted at all assumes that History has a light to shed on the particular problem, and if so, why not on many more besides ?

Holland's contribution to the fascinating question of the value of History is characteristic and important. He points out that of all ancient peoples the Jews were the only ones who wrote anything worth calling History at all. The Arabs, he says, cared nothing for their own past ; the Egyptian records only amount to

'annals,' bare records of dynasties, containing no inquiry into causes. Of the Greeks we have Herodotus concentrated on one great theme, but with no conception of the meaning of anything beyond. Thucydides was a 'shrewd critic' of national motives. 'He analyses out what had led to disaster and demoralization.'

But the Jew? Alone among all civilized or half-civilized peoples he discerned the purpose of the Creator in the providential government and discipline of mankind. Not of all mankind, of course. For centuries he only detected the meaning of his own forefathers' story; but the time came when the wonder of the call to be a missionary nation to the whole world dawned upon his spirits. Doubtless that call was wofully misunderstood by the mass of the nation; but, like other people, the Jews must be judged by the aspirations and utterances of their greatest men, and unquestionably many of the prophets saw before them the prospect of the blessings of the knowledge of God streaming forth from Zion over the whole earth. In the majority of those who heard it, the prophecy was, of course, vulgarized. None the less it remains on record as the sublimest premonition of national responsibility that has ever entered the heart of man to conceive with any such steadfast hope and robustness of faith as we find in the pages of the Old Testament.

In answer, then, to the question, Why do we read History? the Jew's answer would be that just as a grown man realizes his own identity through the memory of experiences which show how marvellously

he has been guided through 'the slippery paths of youth and led up to man,' so the nation which could look back on such uplifting facts as the Covenant made with Abraham, and the Deliverance from Egypt, and the rescue from Sennacherib and Antiochus, was conscious beyond all others of the divine choice whereby they were set apart to be the elect ministers of the Most High God. History is the record of God's offer of salvation made to man: and of man's acceptance or rejection of the offer. But, obviously, if the record is to be vitally interesting to the reader, there must be a conviction that it is the same God of whom we read as He whom we worship to-day: the Creator Who has set all sorts and conditions of men on this earth that they may learn to know and love Him, and, in so learning, grow in love for all others His children. Without a strong and living theism, bringing with it a genuine love of humanity, History 'looks to us as the wild medley of madmen.' But the passage from which the words are quoted should be noted in full.[1] Holland is discussing the theory that the best historian will be free of preconception:

> We travel along with the general and obvious theorizing about the freedom from preconception which must signalize the perfect historian, until we find ourselves slowly and surely shut out from any power to measure or gauge the forces that build up history: for these forces are passions—the passionate clinging to the right; the passionate loathing of wrong; the strong pressure of national cravings; the tempestuous rush of young movements towards new ideals; and how can the cool, indifferent reason, that cares not which way the battle goes, propose to weigh and sift and estimate such forces as these? By what standard can it judge them? What balances has *indifference* by which it can

[1] *Logic and Life*, p. 46.

test the fury of warring opposites? Without some *living interest* in the issue, history looks to us like the wild medley of madmen, whose rage and anxieties and designs fill us with a painful distress at their reckless exaggeration, at their ungentle obstinacy.

Something is wrong, then; the historian must have a cue[1] by which to disentangle this disorder: he must see, and make for, a right and a wrong: he must compel us to pass under the anxieties that harass the onward movements of the good: he must fill us with indignant wrath at the terrible working of the wrong.

We learn from these burning words that Holland felt intensely and profoundly what Freeman taught, the Unity of History. But the preacher was filled with a flaming conviction which made him dispense with evidence. Freeman's view was supported by massive learning, rugged eloquence, and the fine discrimination of the trained scholar, which in combination doubtless affected educated opinion and saved our University lecturers from wandering, as many have wandered, through a trackless quagmire of unrelated facts. But Holland's utterance recalls the tone of Amos and the author of the Book of Jonah; and if we contemplate the Old Testament from the same angle as he did, some of the vivid interest with which he invested the whole story will kindle our torpid minds. For it is due to the view he habitually took of God's relation to the world.

Indeed to any one who feels sure that God is guiding the fortunes of human beings to some glorious end

[1] Our author, though he must have written at headlong speed, is seldom caught napping in his choice of words: but he occasionally uses 'cue' instead of 'clue.' In one place, this works out comically where he writes 'the cue is in our hands'! It is not on record that he ever played billiards.

no history can be dull. It cannot fail to be thrilling : for it perpetually reminds us that we ourselves, in spite of our boasted aloofness and isolation from the pains and tumult of the European development, in spite of our too often assumed superiority to others, are really part of the same story, members of the same family with those whose spiritual growth was the outcome of awful affliction and chastisement in the years that are past. One of Holland's noblest discourses gives splendid expression to this truth. It is entitled, ' The Cost of Moral Movement '; the theme being that in Nature and History alike such peace of mind and mastery over opposing forces as we have achieved have been won at the cost of centuries of indescribable struggles, failures, misery, waste, and ruin. That is the one law of progress.

So enormous, so terrible was the cost that had to be paid before the effort after an ordered life could attain a steady foothold and secure the possibility of advance. It was done at last, in the realization of those gigantic empires—Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian—in which the far-seeing prophets of Israel recognized the elements at last of a continuous and unceasing historical process—a process which should no longer die down utterly at the ending of each separate attempt, but one which would pass on from one stage to another, unexhausted and unshattered, until it gathered itself into the larger fulfilment, the final and perfected triumph of the empire of God. Yet for the accomplishment and the sustenance of this orderly progress, what untiring struggles, what dauntless energy, what infinite love !

It is appalling merely to let the imagination faintly recollect the multitudinous hosts that sweep hither and thither in endless battles across the scenes of those old stories, the fragments of which we find scattered up and down the pages of our Old Testament ; stories in which all the slaughters and destructions of Jerusalem must have formed but brief samples of the work that was continually proceeding ; stories whose frightful vastness still astounds us, as it reflects its terror in the long lines carved or drawn on the memorial palaces of Nineveh

and Babylon. Line upon line of soldiers marching in eternal wars; line upon line of captains pointing ever forward from their advancing chariots to new scenes of carnage; line upon line of captives—men, women, and children—dragged weeping in chains from home to desolate exile; line upon line of tortured prisoners, of massacred populations, of sacked cities, of bloody and remorseless victories.

And even at this very hour (1878) the removal of deadening and unassisting matter from our civilized life, the introduction of new and capable material, the extension of the sovereignty of social and moral right over a fresh area, can only be accomplished at the old cost and with still unslacked efforts, by the thunder of battle, by the sweat, and the blood, and the wounds, by the weeping, the hunger, the despair of the widow and the orphan and the destitute.

Such are the forces, such the deeds, which while attesting and measuring the burden of our sin, do also attest and measure that pressure and strain which the word of the Lord has brought to bear on the spirit of man, driving, compelling, uplifting him to stronger action, to quicker motion, to wider command.

Later on how significant the remark on p. 76: 'The spirit begins to understand the full significance of its work: its ideal has begun to disentangle itself from its early grotesqueness; it has gained shape and charity and truth. Yet the clearness of the issue does not diminish the struggle, and the pains of attaining it: the cost is sharp and severe as ever.' Those words spoken to the refined, critical, academic Oxonians, always inclined to be enlightened spectators of life's drama, are greatly to be considered by the would-be reformers of society to-day. History, in short, was to Holland the operation of Divine Law under which we are set on this planet to work out our salvation with fear and trembling.

It behoves us, then, to weigh well this doctrine, and to discern how plainly we are called to purge our history teaching from all national arrogance and insu-

larity, and make it a training of the world-character: inspired not by a sentimental and mawkish vision of comfort and security and abundance of amusement, but of huge societies recognizing and obeying through all earth's bewilderments the guiding of God.

There is an antithetical form of doctrine according to which much history has been written. It suggests that knowledge of facts set out in good English, but unrelated to each other and uninterpreted except as a theme for national self-complacency, fulfils the qualifications of a first-rate historian.

One or two specially interesting discourses on this subject may be noticed.

In 1913 Holland gave a series of lectures to the S. Paul's Lecture Society, in the crypt under the Cathedral, on the period between Malachi and the Baptist. They were delivered, I am told, without any note, and taken down by one of the audience and printed for *The Guildsman*, the organ of the Church Guilds Union.[1] They deal mainly with the struggle against Antiochus under the Maccabees. The story is most spiritedly told, bristling with names and facts—a great feat of memory. But the two lectures of the greatest interest and originality are on the Pharisees; their origin: their growth: their powerful influence for good.

Biblical students in England have generally taken a very sinister view of the Pharisees, guided thereto by the well-known University Sermon of J. B. Mozley,

[1] These lectures have been reprinted in the *Commonwealth* during this year.

who dissected the hypocrisy of the sect with merciless skill. Holland points out in their defence the immense service they rendered to mankind by maintaining the traditional religion, and the home life of the people, a purer form than was found in any ancient nation. Like all novel truths of History, this one suggests a new question : that of the severity of the Lord's denunciation. The answer is only hinted at, and there are some critics who may disagree with it. But, as Professor Goudge has remarked : ' Holland's writings are full of good ideas. I don't agree with all of them, but there is not one which does not demand careful consideration.'

One of the most illuminating of the historical sermons is to be found in the volume entitled *The City of God*. Holland there gives one reason for a certain languor of interest in the Acts of the Apostles. He finds it in the absence of a plot. The Petrine portion lacks coherence with the Pauline; and the latter, in spite of its fullness, not only leaves many questions unanswered, but ends abruptly just as the story promised to be of real interest. ' Nothing is told us. We are left standing as it were; while the hero whom we have accompanied so long with such absorbing attraction suddenly disappears from our ken—disappears in impenetrable silence. So the book seems desultory and incomplete, and our interest flags.'

Many scores—nay many thousands—of readers must have experienced this flatness of a narrative which yet is numbered among the imperishable records of mankind. We feel there is something in these appar-

ently disjointed notes, and as we become familiar with the incidents given us, the vivid picture of the Jewish Christian Church in Jerusalem; its promise; its dissensions; its gradual enfeeblement; the long story of Cornelius: then the paramount figure of S. Paul; his triumphs; his buffetings; his steadfastness of purpose as he set himself to go to Rome; his arrival and the half-hearted reception of his Gospel. In all this is there no connecting thread ?

Let us remember that in the interpretation of History we must often be thankful for suggestions which, though not patient of scientific demonstration, unite scattered elements in the story and show a single purpose throughout. If a suggestion is convincing and alive it is because it makes us feel the similarity between the distant age and our own to-day. We find ourselves once more reading of men like ourselves, harassed by the same sort of perplexities, but spurred on by the same undying hope; and lo! the fragments assume a new cohesion. We not only enjoy the perusal of the record, but find to our surprise that we remember it afterwards.

Holland saw in the Acts a drama full of the same sort of irony as that which enthrals us in the old Greek tragedies. The plot of the whole is the rejection of God's offer of salvation, and how the grand commission of the world's conversion to Israel is repudiated and given to the Gentiles. The dramatic instinct in the writer makes him linger fondly over the question of the expectant disciples : ' Lord, dost Thou at this time restore the kingdom again to Israel ? ' and the fascinat-

ing picture of the young Church in the days of its fresh vigour, unity, and success. Then S. Paul's repeated failures; his pressing on to Rome, not because it was the capital of the world, but the last stronghold of Judaism where he could once more appeal with hope to his beloved but doomed countrymen, while yearning to make them partakers of his joy. It ended in failure. We are left with the melancholy picture of 'the retreating backs of the disputing Jews, as they disappear through the door, as the noise and murmur of their reasonings together dies away down the stairs, the symbol of Israel's pitiful rejection.'

In short, his view of History was what we might expect from the writer of the lecture on Butler's *Analogy*, or of the preface to *Logic and Life*. From the latter we cull a passage which sheds light on his main position:

> These sermons are offered, not as hortative addresses, so much as for the sake of laying before the minds of many, who now find themselves astray or in peril amid the tangle of life, some such interpretation of the natural and spiritual worlds in which we move, as may possibly assist them in detecting their coherence with the truth as it is in Christ Jesus. It is presumptuous to use such high words about an interpretation so partial and fragmentary and slight as is given in this book: it does but attempt to suggest how strongly and how masterfully the faith which was held by S. Athanasius, the faith in Christ of S. Paul and of S. John, would, if known as they knew it, lay hold of the wealth of modern Science, and of the secrets of modern culture and of the desires and necessities of the modern spirit. We have lost much of that rich splendour, that large-hearted fullness of power, which characterizes the great Greek masters of theology. We have suffered our faith for so long to accept the pinched and narrow limits of a most unapostolic divinity that we can hardly persuade people to recall how wide was the sweep of Christian thought in the first centuries, how largely it dealt with these deep problems of spiritual existence and development

which now once more impress upon us the seriousness of the issues amid which our souls are travelling. We have let people forget all that our Creed has to say about the unity of all Creation, or about the evolution of History, or about the universality of the divine action through the Word.

We have lost the power of wielding the mighty language with which Athanasius expands the significance of Creation and Regeneration, of Incarnation and Sacrifice and Redemption and Salvation and Glory.

Additional Note to Chapter X

THE PROBLEM OF REUNION WITH NONCONFORMISTS

All true Churchmen, that is, all who have been able at any time to imagine the community of Christians throughout the world as animated by the Spirit of Christ and truly united, know in a general way how the divisions have come about and what are the principal obstacles to their being healed. It is often said by apologists for the Nonconformists' action in severing themselves from the main body, that their reason was their realization of ecclesiastical corruption prevailing far and wide : the corruption had infected the community so far that the Anglican Church could not be a branch of the true Church of Christ. We may suppose that this contention would no longer be put forward as a reason against Reunion. Indeed, the disposition for union implies the opposite. The common expression ' the Churches ' could not have been used by the founders of the Nonconformist bodies, their conception being throughout of one Church only. Again, the Anglican view of the situation has been modified in the direction of toleration, and the feeling between the denominations is more cordial than it has ever been.

Holland, however, averse, as always, from controversy, seized the opportunity in addressing Congregationalists to go straight to the heart of the matter by weighing the meaning of the common nostrum on this subject, viz. that if religious people were sensible, the denominations could soon agree to work together in unity upon the many doctrines on which they agree and postpone all discussion on subsidiary points. Against this his contention was that the differences in opinion and religious sentiment 'are the modes in which the fundamental verity has found expression': as 'an organism reveals its intense homogeneity by the intense heterogeneity of its parts. [Here, unexpectedly, he does express a debt to Herbert Spencer.] So a foundation suggests a top, a structure. The trunk of an animal without its limbs might be scientifically examined but would yield no teaching about the animal.'

Herein we note his sympathy with all that lives. Not only did he find no attraction in a common tendency to dissect and mutilate before studying, but he habitually thought of the phenomena of mind and character as manifestations of rich, deep, complex life. Life was to him something creative of unexpected vigour: and of surprising and manifold developments. What lives, acts according to law, but with infinitely numerous variations. Cut off the variations, and what is left is not an organism but a lifeless trunk. He might have instanced a star-fish shorn of all its limbs: what is left?

In the eighteenth century Deism was an attempt

at simplifying religion by truncation: but the process simplified religion so far that what was left was lifeless. The only way of hope is in a contrary direction. 'The more we can include of legitimate variations and the warmer our sympathetic welcome of them the better shall we realize the common ground on which they all rest.'

Similarly I have heard Dr. Gore insist that the way to promote Reunion is not to blur the frontiers between the denominations, but for each denomination to think out clearly and patiently what and where those frontiers are. The metaphor suggests a different point of view, but in practice the two courses prescribed would follow the same direction with variety in their method of advance.

The lecture continues boldly and delightfully. 'Through our extreme divergencies we most freely touch and fuse.' Why should the working through the Confessional and through Conversion be thought of as antagonistic? In desire, aim, and vision they are identical.

Think too of the Pentecostal story, how it emphasizes these two priceless truths: the vital reality of the gift, and the manifold variety of its manifestation. Parthians, Medes, Elamites, etc. The Elamite was to remain an Elamite, the Parthian a Parthian. 'Neither was to struggle to escape from the limitation which was his own peculiar strength. The Jew was to find out in Christ what it really was to be a Jew.'

Similarly: 'Christianity has always . . . fostered

. . . and improved the spirit of nationality.' 'The very smallest tribe, with its separate characteristic distinction, is wanted as much as the greatest nation on earth to fulfil the measure of the stature of the New Man.'

Yes, the reader may say, all very brilliant and original and cheering: but how is it all to be applied? Is there a practical side to all this interesting theory? Undoubtedly there is: but the exhortation is soundly practical because it demands first and foremost a change in our way of thinking. 'Shall we drop our differences and unite? No. Rather get inside each difference in turn, and see why it is there, and what it means to those who hold by it. Once do that and you will find the Penitent Bench and the Confessional mean just the same spirit under varying manifestations.' 'My brothers, I suppose that, broadly speaking, I stand here for the principle of organic unity, you for the principle of organic variation.'

Holland here seems to evince greater sympathy with the latter than with the former. 'Rigidities of officialism in the Middle Ages were broken up by the religious orders. So modern Nonconformity. On the other side the advocates of the law of free variation may have to learn to . . . rediscover the unity that allows for such a wide expansion.' Then in a beautiful and eloquent passage he proclaims that the spirit of union is making itself felt far and wide. 'So the distinctions that have made our trouble will shapen into gems, each of which will contribute its special honour to the foundations on which the entire fabric of our creed and worship

depends—first jasper; second, sapphire; third, chalcedony; fourth, emerald; last, an amethyst.'

It is very doubtful if any utterance on this great burning question—Why can it be no longer said: 'See how these Christians love one another'?—has ever been delivered combining so well the trinity of essentials, depth of principle, clear-sightedness, and charity. We must notice how our author keeps quite clear of pious vapidities and the desire to tinker. The former take the form of regretful reiteration of the familiar words: 'Brethren, how good and joyful a thing it is . . .,' without any inquiry why they no longer express a fact. The latter clamours for action without thought; giving a kind of warrant to the restlessness of modern effort, 'let us do something: down with these barriers: recognize orders: don't worry about history.' Holland insists on the plain truth unacceptable to our generation, that reform and recovery most be preceded by a firmer grip on fundamentals; not merely repeating the wailing of the down-hearted, 'we want a new spirit'; but showing that this 'new spirit,' vague and celestial as it seems to our straining eyes, can be and must be laid hold of by men and women who are willing to make mental and spiritual effort: the kind of effort which is least congenial to the Englishman of to-day.

It may be felt, I admit, that the call to mental and spiritual effort is out of date; and that Holland's exhortation is addressed to a nation that has committed itself irrevocably to the policy of action, renouncing that of thought. Herein he was following

his Master; Who began His ministry with words of infinitely wider scope and far more exacting in their graciousness: 'Interpret life afresh: for the Sovereign God is near to you.'[1] Moreover, He never gave the slightest encouragement to the notion — dominant to-day in Western Europe—that action taken independently of thought and prayer can do any good whatever. If only we could all teach our children the vital meaning of the foundations of our denominational faith, and Nonconformists did the same, each body would speedily find itself in possession of beliefs so quickening and hopeful, centrally so like those of our brothers in Christ, that the very air we breathe would be charged with the spirit of unity and fellowship. Is it not patent that there is no other way?

[1] S. Matt. iv. 17.

CHAPTER XI

MIRACLES

ON the well-worn subject of Miracles Holland's line of thought is quite individual, and turns upon the great principle, never for long absent from his mind, that all natural religion as shown in human history is wholly unintelligible, unless it is looked at as an age-long yearning for the life above itself. Its message to mankind lies in its incompleteness. The thought is drawn out in two lectures on Miracles. The gist of them may be thus stated:

What situation did Christ find? Man for ages had been reaching out after 'the Beyond': at first awestruck: then busied with propitiation: then in love, but recognizing Law more and more. He was never content, nor is he now, with Natural Religion, but in his upward aspirations he never thinks of discarding 'the base degrees by which he did ascend.' For Natural Religion is not put away, but absorbed by something higher and excelled. (Civilization has been defined as progressive desire.) He is oppressed by the sense that the normal is bad and cruel. Thus the impelling influence towards the Beyond is rational.

Then follows a pregnant remark which provokes reflection. 'The supernatural can never find itself or justify itself except from out of the existing situation. It must have its roots in reality.' (Ordinarily this is

put differently, 'God only reveals Himself through man or through Nature.' But Holland's expression is not free from ambiguity. By Reality he appears to mean not the transcendent thing above and behind phenomena, but the world and society as we know them.) A miracle, then, is the Beyond's answer to Nature's yearning: for in the later stages of the process man yearns not only for protection against perils, but for deliverance from himself. The demand for the Higher Power to interpose is never outgrown. 'Therefore to strip religion of the supernatural is to strip it of its essence.'

The question is, then: 'Has the energy of life reached its limit? Or can that energy manifest itself as never before?'

These are the questions and presuppositions which affect our judgement of Christianity. For there is the objection ready to hand that a breach in law is inconceivable. But are there laws which transcend the normal? If so, then what happens meets the craving of Nature. The miracle of Christianity is justified because all Nature is there to justify it.

Is there, then, any further potentiality in things? [1]

If we turn to Warde Fowler's definition of religion as 'the desire to be in right relations with the reality of things,' we see at once that Christianity has everything to say on religion as so defined.

We begin in the history of religion with the nervousness of man in face of nature. We then trace his growth in relationships of friendship and co-operation, correspondence with the powers manifested in

[1] We note that Holland's answer to this question indicates a view of life which, though it cannot be proved scientifically, is in reality expressed by us all whenever we kneel to pray or join in the most ordinary act of corporate worship. Any recognition of God, unless

nature. Thus religion develops ethically. It rises to the ethical level and to the declaration that man must be holy because God is holy. Such right relationship, moreover, is social, implying membership in nation and kingdom. Then Psalmists deepen and intensify its requirements, by adding to it a fusion of wills, a moral identity, a bond of love. Into this, Christianity enters and says, 'Yes, the right relationship with the reality of things is that of a child to a father. It is sonship. It is the relationship of branches in a vine, of members in a body.' Thus, along this track, man is brought to recognize the necessity of doing the will of God as a son. His part is to correspond with God in righteousness and obedience. But because this necessity goes so high and digs so deep, and makes such demands upon inward correspondence, it is more than man can achieve. The final step demanded of man is too steep for him. The more he desires, the less he achieves the required inner correspondence with God. That is the result. He ought, but he cannot, for he finds himself maimed and spoilt. He cannot change his own will or renew his impaired sonship.

Therefore along this line, once more, is come a demand for the beyond, for creative action, for a cleavage with the past, for a new birth. 'For that which is born of the flesh is flesh,' and it is in bondage. The normal human nature has sinned, and it is in the end impotent to achieve its recognized destiny.

Here, again, the demand for the supernatural is not savage or childish. It does not spring from a love of the freakish. It springs from the essential depths of human need.

[The note on which the first lecture ends may seem to some readers familiar. Countless apologists for

it is whittled away in Pantheism or is a kind of homage paid to the creation of our own minds, commits us to Theism as against Deism. When once we admit that the Creator of the Universe and of man's soul and spirit does sustain life and in sustaining guides it, we are confessing that the Beyond has so far been actively (though as we think very slowly) transforming humanity's 'hard and sullen mass' into something on which the angels already gaze with rapture. If History tells that this transforming touch has again and again lifted and purified our nature with a success altogether beyond its normal (natural) powers to achieve or even imagine, we assent to the proposition that a miracle, an event which makes us wonder, has repeatedly occurred. Further implications of this view may be gathered from the notes of this same lecture.

Christianity have insisted on the appropriateness of the Incarnation to human need; but Holland draws attention not only to the inevitability of God's interposition in history if Creation is not to be a gigantic failure, but to the certainty that if such interposition does take place it must come to us as something wonderful; else it would fall within the sphere of the normal, and the normal has been historically proved to be by its very nature and in the texture and tissue of its constitution incapable of meeting man's demand. As a defence of the miraculous it is characteristically based on the broad, undeniable fact that man, unlike the beasts of the field, has somehow cognizance of a life above his own, and a conviction that it is well worth all the incessant agonizing effort required to reach it; and that if God is concerned with our endeavour it is inconceivable that He should not stretch out a helping hand. In other words, that He should not offer life and strength to His children over and above their innate desire. If such offer is actually carried out what happens is a marvel, but is not on that account to be reckoned as an unthinkable breach of law.

This line of thought is not intended to be an unanswerable syllogism. It is indeed logically open to the dubious objection that as a defence of the truth of the Incarnation it assumes certain attributes of God which no human being could have conceived had not the Incarnation happened. I call this a dubious objection because our spiritual experience remains wholly unaffected by any logical attack on its premisses. A man like Holland surrenders his will, his desires and

hopes to what Christ has shown us is God's will. The result is an unmistakable uplifting of the whole nature, a quickening of every good impulse, and a fortifying of every righteous resolve, along with a power of spreading these blessings among other persons far and wide. The most powerful argument directed against such experience as this is bound to be futile and irrelevant.]

The second lecture may be summarized as follows :—

Natural Religion ends by demanding that which transcends the normal. In other words, the situation demands a sinless man. For this, of course, help must come from without. (The argument here is compressed: for is it certain that the arrival of a sinless man was the only way of transcending the normal? This is, however, but a side issue.) *Our estimate of the Gospel therefore depends on our conviction that the natural needs the supernatural:* and that the Gospel method is efficacious. Was there need of salvation? Such a question prompts a wholly new interest in the Gospel.

As to the records themselves, the Jew drew no hard and fast line between the natural and supernatural. He passes straight from the phenomenal to the God behind it. So to him all was miraculous, and nothing strange if now and then the wonder was greater than usual. Also God was manifested in Nature by means of Law. He is certainly calculable, and shows it by the uniformity of Nature. Hence the Jew thought of marvels as in reality part of the uniformity, because by

them God showed He was acting as He always did—for man's salvation.

Then we must think of Christ's mind in regard to Miracle. He had no doubt of His powers, but felt a moral responsibility for them: they must be always subordinated strictly to conscience. 'The absence of external limitations meant the necessity of limits being imposed from within.'

Next, the stress laid on faith. The power available works in correspondence with moral conditions, and makes the supernatural natural. (Is not this the modern theory of suggestion?) To the sufferer, what happens seems natural. One of them actually did not know who had healed him.[1]

Again, Christ recognized that His powers were bound to appear. But they must never be signs or proofs. He felt that signs were the exhibition on the physical plane of spiritual law. (Cf. the Parables; *Ps.* cxix.)

Again, as soon as He gets away from the crowds there is less and less of miracle, till it disappears. To John's disciples: 'Here are signs of the kingdom, but the kingdom is not yet.'

Lastly, we must note that the 'natural man' means man as he is. But 'as he is' means below his true nature. 'He has lowered his capacity to be his true self.' Christ in raising man's nature to the supernatural level showed man his true self. 'It is flesh raised to be the sacrament of the spirit.'

Such are some of the *necessary* presuppositions if we

[1] S. John v. 14.

are to understand miracles. Yet it is our duty to sift the records carefully.

The foregoing sketch of Holland's teaching on Miracles requires to be supplemented by a careful reading of the volume entitled *Christ or Ecclesiastes*. I have found it impossible to attempt anything of a summary of this fascinating volume, and the following notes are only to stir curiosity in the contents of the sermons themselves.

An interesting admission is made by Agnostics to the effect that we are conscious of a spiritual world encompassing matter, so to speak, and that whenever we come up against it we feel a jar and a shock. Long practice has made us wary, and we sheer off to avoid collision. That is conceded ; but the Agnostic or the man of Science is not unlikely to urge an objection if the Christian tries to push the admission further. He says, yes, but the recognition of this spiritual world is not concerned with what you claim to be Miracles ; for the beautiful thing in the action of the spiritual world on the world of matter is its uniformity. You can calculate it beforehand ; and the supposition that sudden irruptions of abnormal action take place is somewhat childish at this stage of the world's history ; indeed it smacks of the most backward and savage peoples.

Holland countered these assertions not as Lord Acton might have done by pointing out that all the greatest developments in history have been unforeseen, and that evidently man plays a very humble part in

guiding the course of events, but by stoutly asseverating that our conviction that God acts and acts mightily is not the conviction of the savage, but the outcome of a certain view of God and man. Man at his best is humble. Our thought about Miracles is the thought of those who know they are in chains but recognize their Rescuer ; because we have not lost the memory of our home : not the fancy of the savage but the theory of the stern and disciplined man of to-day who knows our uttermost need. The shock of the contact between heaven and earth must reverberate on to matter ; for the Universe is one whole.

Science, however, makes allowance for the *normal* action of spirit and sheers off. ' The mystery is always there but generally can be calculated. Is it likely there would be a crisis ? ' Yes, because we recognize we are in misery and iron. Our expectation grounds itself on a certain view of God the Saviour. We look out in the sober, solemn passion of self-humiliation.

Again, no miracle responds to ignorant curiosity. To measure God's methods we must weigh our own needs.

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY

ON looking back over—that is re-collecting—the indications of the working of Scott Holland's powerful and original mind, which have been very partially put together in this book; and after re-reading for the third or fourth time many of that mind's utterances; I cannot forgo the attempt to summarize the impression made by a nearer knowledge of his teaching: his message: his embassage from Christ to his fellow men. No one can say how far it is possible among ordinary men to discriminate between the mind and the character; and certainly it would be absurd in the case of a man like Holland to isolate the one from the other. Yet it is still more impossible to give the salient qualities of the two in combination. So there follows by way of conclusion to this book a brief recapitulation of the main characteristics of the testimony that he bore: which seem to be the most important for us to remember and yet the easiest to misunderstand and to forget.

Though there is agreement among many of the readers of Holland's sermons that the exposition of his ideas is always difficult, it would be found that there is little agreement as to the reason of the difficulty.

Some, moreover, would put this question to themselves, hoping to find that the answer furnishes an excuse for their renouncing the effort thoroughly to understand him. Others, however, would feel that, on the contrary, the very difficulty constitutes a claim on their effort: for they have learnt that all great writings are difficult, and that the very greatest of them remain difficult however often we read them.

But 'difficult' in this connexion means rather 'inexhaustible.' Great writings, indeed, to all patient readers, are both a humiliation and a stimulus. We thought we had sucked thereout all their contents; but lo! on fresh reading, new ideas and suggestive hints crop up, quite as convincing and as valuable as those we have already given to the tablets of memory: but though we are humbled at a new proof of our mental inertia we are beckoned on to try again.

Holland was a philosopher, but primarily a theologian. That is to say, in the *Logic and Life* sermons, which contain his deepest thought though not his loftiest vision, he deals boldly with the place of Reason in the human mind. From Mr. Richmond's book[1] (p. 18) a fine, strong saying may be quoted: 'Reason does not find its ground in itself, it discloses the latent rationality of experience.' In working this thesis out he shows that his great aim, the mark towards which he was steadfastly pressing, was the rationalizing of man's deepest intuitions concerning his relation to God. Now our deepest intuitions are part of what we call our experience. Hence we learn that life may

[1] *The Philosophy of Faith.*

be interpreted as furnishing each and all of us with exactly the right material for training our minds—and that means our wills—towards entering into a new, growing, vitalizing conception of why we are in this world. Ordinary popular Christianity would admit this conclusion as valid in respect of moral and spiritual growth: that if we will we may use every incidental occurrence in our lives as a means of grace and a reason for thanksgiving. Holland insisted that experience included thinking, and that thinking means gradually discerning a purpose not only in our outward circumstances but in our mental history: which history ought to be the process whereby our thoughts are disciplined into orderly recognition of the perfect suitability of our experience to our need: and so it comes about that we hail the significance of the Apostle's injunction: 'in everything give thanks.'

Our intuitions, then, are the instinctive faculty with which all alike are endowed for 'believing' that God is, can be, ought to be, and must be, viewed as the pabulum on which Reason most rightly works.

But, our critic objects, the mass of mankind have no power in them of so employing their Reason: hence the teaching is too intellectual to be of use to some eighty-five per cent. of our markedly unphilosophical fellow countrymen.

There is truth in this objection. Among the published sermons there are only a few which could be called simple, and those that deal with the relation of Faith to Reason are among the least simple. All of them and most of the others require

more than one reading: but in time the reader perceives how the preacher's message is based on very widely accepted assumptions, viz. that God acts: continuously and creatively: both on the material Universe and on man's mind and spirit: ever working towards some glorious goal. If we could all shape our aspirations, hopes, and practical endeavours on this assumption earth would speedily be turned into Paradise. But the tragedy of life, the *lacrimae rerum*, consists just in this; that very many of us acknowledge the great—nay, the tremendous truth, and then pertinaciously set ourselves to live on the contrary opinion: viz. that God's Creation of the Universe and of man ended with His casting off His handiwork; letting it run its own course; and thinking of it no more. If S. Francis de Sales was right in saying that the commonest sin among people trying to be good was forgetfulness of the presence of Christ; if Dr. Gore is right in attributing R. M. Benson's wondrous spiritual influence to his flaming sense of the Divine Presence, then we gratefully number Holland among the witnesses of the same mighty truth.

Some readers of his published utterances, rising above the captiousness which prompts others to dismiss his claims in disparaging his style, will gladly and gratefully recognize the manly, spontaneous freshness, the strongly compacted coherence of his doctrine; and besides those qualities its endless suggestiveness, depth, and fertility.

Lastly, let us notice that if not so massive or so profound as the very greatest of modern English theo-

logians such as Church, Mozley, Westcott, Benson, and von Hügel, Holland, like all of these, requires interpretation. He is great enough to make it an absurdity for us to read him indolently, incuriously, unreflectively. Probably from design he did not publish his simpler sermons. At any rate every one of those now in print requires careful reading and patient attention; and those who are willing to pay so much of cost will not fail of a rich reward. They will learn that in mastering the preacher's hints, inferences, and allusions the idea contained in them comes into their minds as a living, growing thing, which it is a real privilege for them to appropriate and absorb, so that in their turn they may pass it on to others who, far afield, are yearning for such powerful witness of the presence of the Eternal Spirit in the heart of man.

In passing from the estimate of a great mind to that of a great character, we are conscious of a responsibility, for measuring our words and selecting among our impressions, which is graver and more august than that which belongs to a critique of his teaching. Especially is this true when the estimate is to be presented to those who had no personal, first-hand knowledge of the man himself. In the matter of the written teaching they start fair, from the same point as we do ourselves. But as to the character they are largely in the position of *auditores tantum*: they must take what we give them, and if we deal out anything like a random and ill-considered judgement they have no means of correction: and we may find ourselves some day burdened with the grim sense of having misled our younger friends by hastiness

when deliberation was needed; by smartness instead of the insight which belongs to love alone.

The first great Christian quality, then, to be noted in Holland was his joyousness. For while at all times there is sore need of the opposite temper, that on which the Lord pronounced a special blessing, namely sorrow and mourning, yet if joy is not shown by those of us who are called thereto, there sets in a dismal impoverishment of our corporate life. Men come to be divided into groups labelled with the insignia of manifold error. The young and generous-hearted fling themselves into schemes for the bettering of social life, and in their fine endeavour we wish them in all sincerity God-speed. But unless their aspirations are strong in self-distrust, self-forgetfulness, and thoughts of eternity which give fresh hope in Christ, 'they have no root and in time of tribulation they are offended,' and lapse into grim acquiescence in the second or third best. Others—a vast multitude—from the first give themselves frankly to the gratifying of their inclinations, cheered on by the world if the inclinations are not plainly anti-social, for the world likes to find its selfishness adopted as the creed of life by yet another convert.

Joyousness such as Holland's is a grand corrective both of the depression which failure often engenders, and of the insane pursuit of pleasure which crumbles in the hand as it is grasped. For it was combined with an appreciation of the malignity of sin—cold-heartedness and despair—such as is only found in those who view life as Christ viewed it and are fortified throughout by His Spirit. Holland was the herald of a

hopefulness which took full account of all that could be said in favour of the cautious cynicism of common sense; the temper of the old prophet of Bethel; and the still more insidious whisper of the popular Science of our time: 'We are all Evolutionists now: we know that every event has its natural cause. There is no reason to think that God acts.' He was confronted—as we all are—with two very powerful spiritual antagonists: secularism and a religion almost entirely ethical. By the former I mean an open repudiation of the claims of eternity: a striving after self-gratification more or less disguised as altruism: that is to say, altruistic only so far as is convenient to the ego, and always subservient to the fashion of the world which is passing away. The second is less concerned with self-gratification and more with self-improvement; and looks upon the doctrines of Christianity as worth consideration in so far as they help to the paramount end in view. Like the former, it is really restricted to the life of time, but it recognizes more readily man's spiritual affinities with the divine, and does not repudiate doctrine so long as it can be viewed from a strictly anthropocentric angle.

Intellectually, morally, and spiritually Holland welcomed all in these tenets that was not simply selfish, earth-bound, grovelling. He felt to the full the spell of Nature, of Beauty, and of the drama of History: but always as a challenge from the Father for the response of gratitude and willingness of service and joy: the temper not of the servant but of the son; free and unfailing and infectious; the glad homage of all who perceive and know that they have been rescued

from the nethermost hell. They have only one aim in life now: the spreading of the good, the heavenly, knowledge to all whom they can reach, that the joy of the baffled, the lonely, and the oppressed may be fulfilled. This temper was the outcome of something far too deep to be explained. Perhaps he did not himself know how far his Reason helped to confirm his Faith. But, as is explained elsewhere, he was upheld by the buoyant sympathy which enabled him to extract the core out of Butler's *Analogy*, the recognition of the identity of the foundation laws in the physical, moral, and spiritual worlds. It would be absurd to suppose that anything which could be called rational could be the *cause* of a faith so glowing and victorious as Holland's. We may rather imagine the opposite: viz. that the love of Christ welling up incessantly from his heart quickened his mind to seize on the vital rationality of the Bible view of life; which yet he expounded without ever for a moment drifting into fancifulness or audacity of conjecture. However exuberant in language, the sermons are models of measured thought as well as of coherent and harmonious structure.

If, then, intellectually Holland was in sympathy with the achievements of human thought, reached and affirmed by many who felt little or nothing of his religious conviction, and also with much popular sentiment which others tabooed as secular and shallow, so in morals the ethically-minded, duty loving, but wholly unecclesiastical workers for social reform found in him a coadjutor and an inspiration. His enthusiasm for lifting the lives and kindling the hopes of his fellow

men flowed from the ever-present, ever-thankful sense of sonship which lit up his idea of the Church; as of a community pulsating with the eternal vigour of the Divine Life, the sap from the Trunk which flows unceasingly into every branch: the 'unspeakable Gift' of the Father of the Household of God to His children. The professedly irreligious but deeply compassionate of his fellow-workers were doubtless in touch, without knowing it, with that same heavenly Source of zeal, power, and hope; but hardly any could mistake the depth of the Fountain from which his inspiration sprang. He dinned into the ears of a torpid and lukewarm generation no mere counsels of prudence, of secular betterment, nor only the appeal of compassion: but the sacred challenge of our common humanity, uttered by our consciences in the great name of Brotherhood, which derives its lofty warrant from the relationship of baptized Christians to their Redeemer and Judge.

But when we try to say what was the note of Holland's spiritual life we find ourselves in presence of a mystery which eludes and transcends the explanations deemed often to be adequate for other great personalities. There was nothing in his family-history to account for the unique combination of gifts and the rapturous delight with which he sacrificed them to the service of his Lord. It is easy to say that his temperament must have been naturally joyous, but we cannot fall back on that theory, the meaning of which is most elusive, when we remember that he was constantly—that is for some forty years and more—subjected to

two influences which have very often overborne souls into depression and even despair : the disability of prolonged ill health, and the poignant grief stirred within him as he saw the mass of preventable misery due to man's deafness to the divine appeal. He must full often have wrestled in prayer for that love of humanity which was granted him in most abundant measure, but which he knew would, as it increased within him, bring him more and more of this hallowed pain. If that explanation fails there is nothing for it but to dwell mournfully on the memory of a beautiful thing taken from us to be restored no more. But if that explanation stands, we can suffer ourselves to be enkindled with the same hope and ' joy in believing.'

It is true that, as compared with other great religious writers, he gives in his published utterances far more emphasis to the joy of Christianity than to its severity. But it must not be supposed that he ignored the stern aspects of truth. His demeanour at the first faint sound of ribaldry or of ' jesting which is not convenient,' no less than the piercing warnings addressed to the heedless, have warned us against any light and easy theory of the tenor of his message. His teaching on the great paradox—which though incomprehensible is given us to live by—may not be so explicit or quite so deep as that of Keble, Church, or von Hügel: but assuredly it satisfies the grand test of all: it never whittles away or pares down anything to suit the timidity of a soft, self-seeking generation. Holland lived in the full onset of the reaction against Calvinism. So violent has it been that our sensitive shrinking from

bodily and spiritual conflict has been accepted far and wide as the one legitimate canon of interpretation of the unvarying sternness which is the reverse side of God's revealed mercy. Nevertheless, his testimony never failed in fidelity to the transcendent double statement of the divine relation to man: and it is for us to realize that in character even more than by written utterance our beloved prophet illustrated by the sustained joyfulness of his way of life and service the wonder of the 119th Psalm : 'O take not the word of Thy truth utterly out of my mouth; for my hope is in Thy judgements': and again, 'Thy statutes have been my songs in the house of my pilgrimage': or 'The earth, O Lord, is full of Thy mercy: O teach me Thy statutes': or 'I am horribly afraid for the ungodly that forsake Thy law'; compared with 'They that fear Thee will be glad when they see me; because I have put my trust in Thy word.'

Thus the Gospel of this ambassador of Christ, delivered by his glowing personality even more than by his words, is found to be rounded and complete : for he had 'the mind of Christ.' Great and irremediable will be our loss if we ignore it: greater still our responsibility if we hear it and 'rejoice in it for a season,' but fail to let it sink into our hearts.

APPENDIX A

By the Right Rev. the Bishop of Oxford.

Holland's Philosophy

Dr. Lyttelton has asked me to write a note for his book on the philosophy of Dr. H. S. Holland. I have acceded to his request with considerable hesitation, for two reasons. First, the subject has already been dealt with much better than I can deal with it by Canon Richmond in his book, *The Philosophy of Faith*. Canon Richmond was in constant communication with Holland during his London life: he has himself written upon various philosophical questions, and, I am sure, has discussed the whole field frequently and intimately with Holland. Secondly, I did not know Holland till he had already begun to suffer from the illness which hampered his reading, and made systematic study almost impossible to him. I do not know what books he read in his student days, nor by what processes he reached the general position which is found in his works.

The first point upon which it is necessary to be clear is in what sense Holland comes to be considered as a philosopher. When we think of the history of philosophy, a number of great names arises in the mind. We think of Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, Hobbes, Locke,

Hume, Butler, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and so on. All these have left works embodying their ideas, and all of them, in a sense, are discussing the same problems. Some were makers of comprehensive systems: others, like Butler, avoided system-making, but have left a mark upon the subject as a whole. Besides these there are others to whom the philosophic method is attractive, who sympathize with the philosophic outlook, and give rise to illuminating ideas without leaving any very permanent mark upon the subject. A very notable instance of this second class is Cardinal Newman. The late Mr. Wilfrid Ward endeavoured to show that Newman anticipated various notions which have occupied much space since his day. He notes three such notions: 'the immense importance of subconscious reasoning,' certain aspects of pragmatism, and the conception of evolution or development.[1] It is perfectly true that ideas of this kind are to be found in Newman: though Ward rightly describes them as 'lines of thought . . . thrown out in an occasional sentence and too deep to be lost,' he admits that they are not developed or set firmly in their philosophical context by the author.[2]

I am inclined to think that Holland will be found in this latter class rather than in the former. His whole outlook was closely allied to that of philosophical speculation: the problems of philosophy lie close to the surface of his writing. But, though his view was deeper and more comprehensive than Newman's, and his knowledge of philosophical literature vastly greater,

[1] Ward, *Last Lectures*, p. 74. [2] ibid. p. 101.

I doubt whether his name, any more than Newman's, will figure in future histories of philosophy. He has left us no full exposition of his point of view, and we have to gather it, somewhat after Mr. W. Ward's manner, from occasional works written for various purposes.

At this point, it seems desirable to say a word as to the influence upon Holland of Professor T. H. Green. In the middle of the nineteenth century, as Canon Richmond has pointed out,[1] the prevailing type of philosophy was that of John Stuart Mill, which derived ultimately from Hume. Green was convinced of the weakness of this account of things and he set himself to overthrow it. In those days there was no inter-collegiate lecturing, and Green's teaching was therefore given in Balliol, and penetrated only by degrees through the University. He had a twofold task before him. He had to criticize and display the unsoundness of the sensationalist line of thought, and to set out an explanation of things upon a firmer basis. The first part of this programme was given to the world in the two long Introductions contributed by Green to the edition of Hume's works published in 1874. In these Introductions Green definitely sets himself to refute Hume's philosophy, to show that 'the philosophy based on the abstraction of feeling was with Hume played out, and that the next step forward in speculation could only be an effort to re-think the process of nature and human action from its true beginning in thought.'[2] In the next sentence to this, Green points

[1] *Philosophy of Faith*, p. 6. [2] *Works*, Vol. i, p. 371.

the way towards reconstruction. 'If this object has been in any way attained, so that the attention of Englishmen "under five-and-twenty" may be diverted from the anachronistic systems hitherto prevalent among us to the study of Kant and Hegel, an irksome labour will not have been in vain.' It was not until 1883—a year after Green's death—that a full statement of his positive teaching appeared in the *Prolegomena to Ethics*.

Holland belonged to the inner ring of Green's pupils and must have been familiar with all his teaching. We may say without any qualification that he accepted fully Green's refutation of the current sensationalism. All leanings, however slight, towards this type of philosophy disappeared from Holland's mind, if they were ever there, for good. But any one who came to know Holland, as I did, about 1883—the date of the *Prolegomena*—would have found it very hard to understand his being treated as a follower of Green's on the side of his positive philosophy. The letters between Holland and Green and R. L. Nettleship at the time of Holland's ordination show that a wide gap existed between Holland and the others, and that, however near he had come to them in the region of speculation, he was not in fact a Hegelian, or a Greenite, or even a pure idealist. He had got a different idea of the world—to use the German phrase—a different *welt-anschauung*. The letters of Green and Nettleship show how deep they felt the gap to be[1]: both speak of it as

[1] These letters are printed in the late Mr. Stephen Paget's *Memoir*, pp. 62–8.

likely to involve the cessation of friendly intercourse. To us, who have come to look on at the oddnesses—intellectual and moral—of our contemporaries with the genial eye of a collector of curios, their language seems strained and somewhat intolerant: but at least it shows how deep the difference seemed to them.

And the difference is a deep one: it is a difference in the view of the world—the *welt-anschauung*. After all, Green's world, though he gives such a different account of it, is Hume's world: the world of perception and thought. Green repudiated the notion that the mind was merely passive: he asserted the masterly activity of the mind in knowledge and in practice. And he hopes to bring religion under the rules of the intellect, with an Eternal Consciousness that constitutes the world—an absolute Being somehow expressing itself in the course of the world. 'The concrete whole may be described indifferently as an eternal intelligence realized in the related facts of the world, or as a system of related facts rendered possible by such an intelligence.' [1] Is not this a repetition at a new level of Hume's mistake? Green had shown that no beating of isolated impressions upon a passive sensory system could explain a mind: any explanation of thought must start with an active mind as well as a phenomenal world. But is it not also true that you cannot argue from such a conception of a concrete whole as is described above, either to a personal self or to a God that any reasonable being could worship? This point was put very incisively in a book called *Hegelianism and*

[1] *Prolegomena*, p. 38.

Personality by Mr. Andrew Seth (now Pringle Pattison), published in 1887, and it is the real difference between Holland and Green. Green's world is the world of thought and sense ; Holland's world is the world of religion, thought, and sense: a world in which there are physical forces; live, active beings at various grades ; and a personal God, Who acts in the world, and whose acts are part of the experience of mankind.

This may seem a small difference, but in reality it covers much ground and involves important consequences. What these are, we may see in the following way. Hume was in a difficulty because he started with the hypothesis that sense-data are all there is; it then appeared that, as Green pointed out, no explanation was possible of the intellect. Green, as already suggested, started with the hypothesis that the intellect and its processes covered the whole ground. His position was truer than Hume's, because all articulate thought, on whatever subject, implies intellectual activity. But, as Seth pointed out, he was then in difficulty as to personality, both in God and man. Holland's point of view relieves him from this difficulty. He has not to show how the truth of personality, human and divine, can be established by means of analysis of a system which does not assume them, perhaps even definitely denies them: he has them already in his world, and his problem is to observe what happens, rather than work out an *a priori* system. He starts not with abstract principles but with the world as a whole, as we know it—in other words, he starts with the world of the plain man. It is this which divides

Holland's thought from the philosophy of the Idealists, and marks him out as akin rather to Butler than to any other thinkers. His great lecture on Butler's optimism [1] drives this conclusion home.

It may, of course, be argued that a view of the world such as this is not philosophy at all. But this can, surely, be maintained only if it is proposed to limit philosophy to problems connected with knowledge. It is not unnatural to think of it under this limitation, because, as has been said, knowledge and its methods are required whenever articulate thought is required. But it was one of Butler's principles, which Holland in his lecture emphasizes and adopts, that, without 'vilifying reason' or distrusting the intellect, there are experiences which no one disputes, but which do not admit logical proof.

This close interest in the whole of experience as it is presented throws light on certain other aspects of Holland's thought, which, though perhaps not covered by the term philosophy, are highly important for the understanding of his mind. Holland's view of things involved him, as has been noted, in no difficulty as to the existence of the individual man: he realized intensely the presence and the activities of individual men, and strove hard, I think under the influence of Browning's poems, to understand the working of their minds. This gave an extraordinarily vivid interest to his lectures on such books as Plato's *Republic* or S. John's Gospel. He was always keenly conscious of the man behind the book: the book never stood

[1] Romanes Lecture, 1908.

alone, to be interpreted as a mere written thing. Plato makes Socrates complain of books[1] that they are like the creations of the painter: 'if you ask them a question they maintain a solemn silence.' Holland could feel the man's mind behind the book, and was vividly conscious of the movements of his thought. The Introductory Lectures on S. John, in Canon Richmond's book, illustrate this.

Further, it will be seen in the account of his life that Holland was greatly attracted by the modern developments in psychology. Here again he found a deep interest in analyzing and observing the movements of the individual soul. But here, also, he clung to the conviction that, in spite of the underworld below the level of consciousness, 'our reality is to be found within that spot of life which constitutes our consciousness of self.'[2]

[1] *Phaedr.* 275 *D.*

[2] Richmond, op. cit. p. 101.

APPENDIX B (1)

Letter from Professor C. C. J. Webb on Holland's Romanes Lecture.

THANK you for your letter. It especially interests me, as in my inaugural lecture when I became an 'Oriel Professor' I spoke of three great Oriel men who were thinkers about religion—Butler, Newman, and Matthew Arnold—as sharing a certain sombreness of outlook, and referred to Holland's Romanes Lecture on the *optimism* of the first as not intended to suggest that this optimism was *obvious*. It is a 'light *behind the clouds*,' as Holland says in the last sentence of his lecture. I should certainly have thought that Butler is not at all the sort of person one commonly thinks of when the word 'optimist' is said. That in a sense he was an 'optimist' is certain, since he was a Christian. Alexander says in his first book (*Moral Order and Progress*) quite truly that 'morality is in itself and necessarily a kind of optimism,' and this must be still more emphatically true of Christianity. But people generally use optimism of something temperamental which one does not find in Butler, nor, I should suppose, did Holland mean that one found *that* there. But I imagine that he *did* mean to call attention, not only to Butler's optimistic conclusion (though of course the

doctrine that good *is conquering* evil is perhaps not what optimism—in its original sense, in which the Jesuit reviewers of Leibnitz's *Théodicée* used it of his theory—strictly means), but to his confidence in reason, 'the candle of the Lord,' in opposition to anything like sceptical distrust of it. And this, I think, was quite just. Despite a certain similarity to Pascal in his opposition to a prevalent rationalism (conclusive confidence in reasoning), to which I was referring in my few words about him in my *Century of Anglican Theology*, and in his emphasis on *difficulties* in nature as well as in religion, he had, perhaps, less of the sceptic in his make-up. One does not know if one would have found him equally fond of Montaigne. But, on the other hand, he was surely not temperamentally an optimist, as Holland himself certainly was.

I suppose our age (even if it much dislikes pessimism, about which I am not quite sure) is certainly *shy* of optimism: and this accounts in part for Holland having been less influential than one might have expected. It is the *pessimistic* side of Inge that has made him the most popularly noticed theologian there has been for a long while. But in explanation of the neglect of Holland I think one must also bear in mind (*a*) that he nowhere stated his creed as a whole in a systematic form (Butler's own moral philosophy failed to attract attention abroad in his own century largely because it was expounded in a book called *Fifteen Sermons*); and (*b*) that he so heartily threw himself into the current of a certain apologetic movement—represented by *Lux Mundi*—that he was not sufficiently discriminated

by the public from its other representatives. It was, I think, the visible effects of his optimism in his personality that made the greatest impression, and those from the nature of the case were only visible to a few. Don't you think this is more or less true ?

Yours sincerely,

C. C. J. WEBB.

APPENDIX B (2)

Crossways,
The Common,
Gt. Berkhamsted.
August 11, 1925.

Dear Lyttelton,

Many thanks for enclosures. I am so glad that you avoided 'chatty journalistic' pictures of H. S. H. and concentrated on his teaching influence. I have added some remarks on the Cornwall Reading Party disaster as you have left this in blank. I think that he learned in later life to look after himself more, and it was his impulsive nature that made him feel a bad cold or touch of influenza as something overwhelmingly disastrous. I also think that Oxford climate did not suit his young Don's days; whereas in his later Professorial days the life suited him, and he took more healthy exercise than was possible in London, and motoring became a distinct pleasure and help to him. He really took great care in the ordering of his life these later years.

Yours sincerely,

Spencer L. Holland.

APPENDIX B (3)

Professor W. R. Sorley on certain affirmations in the Romanes Lecture, and on questions suggested by them.

S. Giles',
Chesterton Lane,
Cambridge.
July 1, 1925.

I do not think it is possible to say of any philosophical doctrine that it is admitted by all modern philosophers —as one might say of a theorem that it is admitted by all mathematicians. At the same time it is true that the 'subjective' interpretation of experience is no longer in such favour as it was (say) in the days of J. S. Mill, when many writers were prepared to assume that all a man is directly aware of is states of his own mind. Now writers of different schools (e.g. New Realists and Hegelians, but not 'new Idealists' such as Gentile and Varisco) will allow that in experience one is always in touch with objective reality.

Of course, however, this objective reality will be differently interpreted; and one may not take it at its face-value—as the New Realists began by doing.

The passage you quote from Bradley may certainly be regarded as a great concession as coming from him; but a whole system, or at least attitude of thought,

underlies it. It assumes a relation between value and reality—a topic I am loath to touch, for have I not written a book about it ?

I don't think that any one says that historical evidence is always untrustworthy—at most he will say that it never reaches complete demonstration, such as we may have in mathematics or, in general, in the relations of abstract conceptions. As Hume said, 'the denial of a fact never involves a contradiction.' But the evidence varies indefinitely : on the one hand scarcely removed from that of immediate experience, on the other based on very doubtful testimony.

When you say that all experience can be doubted, it is because it may be a little difficult to say what is immediate experience and what interpretation of it. For example, you may easily doubt whether you are reading my letter: for it is only an inference of yours that it is mine. But if you doubt whether you are reading, then you say to yourself, 'I am taking leave of my senses.'

Yours sincerely,

W. R. SORLEY.

APPENDIX B (4)

From Canon W. Richmond.

July 8, 1925.

My dear Lyttelton,

Holland was—in the true sense of the word—a rationalist down to the ground. It was impossible to him to go on without believing that there was a *rational* basis for faith. He might not have worked out, so as to be able to descend into the arena of philosophical controversy in its defence, any statement of his logical ground. But the Balfour position that, failing reason, we must fall back upon common sense was wholly alien to his mind. He knew what he did not accept—not the Hegelism Absolute doctrine, not the Schiller doctrine, *not* the Balfour doctrine. And in the end in the last lecture he adopted definitely a formula from Prichard and the Wilson school with which he had long been familiar though he had never used it (so far as I know), which expressed what had always been his mind.

I believe the element of self-discipline governed his whole management of his career. It seemed to be at the mercy of any occasional impulse, of every carnal call. But it was, I think, the deliberate sacrifice of every idea of ambition for distinction to his own dominating conception of his vocation.

Yours very truly,

Wilfrid Richmond.

APPENDIX B (5)

From Professor Webb on Holland's general teaching.

DEAR DR. LYTTELTON,

By all means use as you like what I say about Scott Holland—with my name or without, as you think best, so long as it is not claimed for it that it is a study of his writings. I should like very much to be able to read through all that he published and form a considered opinion upon it; but I cannot do it just now. What (without having done this) I should be inclined to say is (1) that the *atmosphere* of his teaching, so different from that of the Tractarian tradition, did a very great deal to commend his religion to a generation for which that tradition was associated with the things of yesterday against which each generation in its turn revolts; and (2) that no one did more to detach the 'High Church' school, so to call it, from its Tory antecedents and ally it with democratic and even socialistic aspirations.

May I refer on this subject to some sentences (pp. 51–2) in a little book of mine, published a year or so ago, which you are not likely to have seen, called *A Century of Anglican Theology*? This latter effect of his work has probably been the more important as having been less dependent on the immediate influence

of his personality, under which, of course, only comparatively few had the opportunity of coming; though for those who did, he must always stand apart in their memory as one quite unlike anybody else.

Did you read that brilliant description of him in H. W. Nevinson's autobiographical book—as walking up Christ Church Hall like one bringing good tidings of great joy? I remember, along with this, an occasion at the Synthetic Society when he took, by way (I think) of illustration of first-hand spiritual experience, the experience of *joy* and described it. It was extraordinarily characteristic—the choice and the description alike. But I doubt that there were probably a good many people who, while impressed—and even permanently impressed—by the fact that he found in his theology a sufficient ground for his own religious faith and joy, were unable to satisfy themselves that some fundamental difficulties, philosophical and critical, which that theology seemed to involve, did not remain unaffected by anything that he had said or written.

Yours sincerely,

CLEMENT C. J. WEBB.

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